



सत्यमेव जयते

# Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India

## **MAHATMA GANDHI**

### **Volume III**

(Parts - I to III Edited by Prof. N. R. Phatak  
Parts - IV to VII Edited by Dr. B. G. Kunte)

## **KHILAFAT MOVEMENT**

**(1920 to 1921)**

### **Volume X**

(Edited by : Dr. K. K. Chaudhari)

GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA  
MUMBAI

(Collected from the Maharashtra State and Government of India Records)

## PROLOGUE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book Edition (CD version) of Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement. This e-book edition is facsimile reproduction of already published volumes.

So far twelve volumes are published under this series. They contain valuable data regarding India's struggle for freedom. These volumes form an important source for the scholars, historians who are interested in studying different phases and dimensions of the freedom movement. The material is collected from Government's secrete and confidential official records. Thus, these volumes have made available that information which was so far not easily accessible to the scholars.

Considering utility of these volumes, need was felt to preserve this treasure of knowledge. In this age of modernization, information and technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing need of hour, I have decided to bring out a CD version of these volumes. I am sure, scholars and studious persons across the world will find these CDs immensely beneficial.

This CD contains total seven parts of Volume III, "Mahatma Gandhi" published within the span of 12 years, that is, from 1965-1977 and Volume X, "Khilafat Movement (1920-1921)" published in 1991. First three parts of Volume III were edited by Prof. N.R. Phatak, and the rest four parts were edited by Dr. B. G. Kunte; where as, Volume X was edited by Dr. K.K.Chaudhari.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani, (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Department, Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak

Date: 31 March 2007

Executive Editor and Secretary

## PREFACE

This is the third volume of the Maharashtra State publication of the series of the Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India; and second (part II) in the series of Mahatma Gandhi. The period covered by this volume is from 1922 to 1929. In this period the reader will find the ups and downs in Gandhiji's leadership in the Indian National Congress. The year 1929 shows Congressmen looking forward for Gandhiji's leadership again.

The Itinerary or the day-to-day diary of Gandhiji's tours and programmes, his Jail activities, the exhaustive chronological index and titles etc. are given here.

We hope that this material will help to understand in what way and to what extent Gandhiji's character and methods of his activities affected the rulers and his opponents.

N. R. PHATAK.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My Thanks are due to the Home Department, Commissioner of Police, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Director and staff of Archives and Historical Monuments and the Maharashtra State Government for giving all facilities to consult and use extracts from confidential official records. The Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, and the National Archives of India, have also been helpful in preparation of this Volume.

I wish to express my gratefulness to the Librarians and staff of the Central Library, Sachivalaya, and the Libraries of Siddhartha College, Elphinstone College, Asiatic Society of Bombay and the University of Bombay.

I am indebted to the management of Government Central Press for their co-operation.

I put on record my appreciation of the co-operation of our staff of Shri H. M. Joshi and Shri B. N. Phatak. The latter mostly compiled the material, assisted by Smt. Sumati C. Kanekar and Smt. Damayanti P. Pratap.

N. R. PHATAK.

## INTRODUCTION

Present volume begins with the incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi. It might have been Government's expectation that they would have some peace, Gandhiji being jailed. But that was not so. Immediately after entering the Jail Gandhiji started troubling Government on his rights in prison. Though this was his first imprisonment in India, he had been jailed several times in South Africa, and knew well his rights. He wrote to Government for newspapers such as 'Modern Review', 'Vasant' and 'Samalochak'; but these magazines were refused by Government on the ground that they were political magazines. But Gandhiji was not a man to surrender his rights and so he immediately asked for other papers. The correspondence is very interesting and shows how Gandhiji was trying to convince the authorities that it was his right and they cannot refuse it. At one place he says that newspapers, books and magazines are as essential for a prisoner as air, water, and food. Ultimately he partially succeeded because of his persistent demands.

The other point of conflict was interviews regarding who should come and who should not, whether relatives only or friends, political or others. The very first interview was granted to his son Devadas Gandhi and Shree Rajagopalachari. After the interview Rajagopalachari gave an interview to the press and told them that Gandhiji was not treated well. This created a stir and Government refuted it saying that they had already given Gandhiji certain facilities. But this left a bad taste and Government became very strict as regards interviews. Henceforth Government did not allow political persons to see him. Pandit Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and Hakim Ajmal Khan were refused permission, and Government did not reply even though Gandhiji pursued the matter. His relatives were permitted to see him but only those who had secured previous sanction.

In 1923 Gandhiji began to have some trouble and finally it was found out to be an appendicitis case, and Lt. Col. Maddock decided to operate it immediately waiving red-tapism. The news of illness and its impact on the general masses was tremendous. It released the pent up emotions of people and prayers were held in temples and mosques for his speedy recovery. Political leaders demanded release of Gandhiji. There was persistent clamour for his release. At first Government thought that he should not be released but should be kept in Jail. But this was not possible. So after scrutinizing pros and cons of his release Government decided to set him free, because this would create dissensions in Congress. Decision to set him free unconditionally was taken by Bombay Government and he was again free on 5th February 1924.

Once again Gandhiji was a freeman. He started his political activities. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress. He left Congress Politics to his friends and took up constructive work. Das and

Pandit Motilal Nehru became leaders of the programme of Council entry. Gandhiji devoted his entire time to Khadi, Village industries, Hindu-Muslim unity and untouchability. He toured entire country including Burma, to preach constructive programme. In 1928 Bardoli under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel began agitation against new land-Revenue-tax. Though Gandhiji was not actually the leader of the Bardoli campaign he was consulted by the Sardar every now and then. In his tour of the united Provinces he visited Communist leaders detained in Meerut Jail and had a lively discussion with them. He had also visited Shree V. D. Savarkar in lockup earlier.

In 1929 Viceroy Lord Irvin made an announcement regarding Dominion Status. Gandhiji said that the people should not slacken their activities on account of the Viceregal announcement.

**N. R. PHATAK.**

**MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI**

**INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISON'S RECORD.**

**1922-24**

**CONFIDENTIAL.  
URGENT**

No. S-D. 801.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Secretariat, Fort, Bombay, 15th March 1922.

From

J. Crerar, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.

Sir,

The proceedings in the Sessions Court, Ahmedabad, against Messrs. Gandhi and Banker will commence on Saturday 18th instant and will probably conclude the same day. Government desire that, in the event of conviction, both prisoners should be with the least possible delay transferred to the Yeravda Prison. They should be taken by special train via Dadar Junction and Kirkee, and every steps should be taken, including the timing of the special train, to effect the transfer as secretly as possible in order to minimise the risk of public demonstrations *en route*. The arrangements should be made in consultation with the Commissioner, Northern Division, the Inspector General of Police and the Commissioner of Police, Bombay (to whom copies of this letter are being addressed).

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) J. CRERAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department. (Political).

I have just seen Jacob (P. A. to I. G, Police) and he says to expect Gandhi on Monday.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. S-D-802.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Secretariat, Fort, Bombay, 15th March 1922.

Copies forwarded to—

The Commissioner, Northern Division,  
The Inspector General of Police,  
The Commissioner of Police, Bombay,  
The District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

2. The officer in charge of the police escort should be specially instructed with reference to Government Confidential Circular

No. 11-D, dated the 24th November 1921, of which a copy is attached for ready reference. A reliable and experienced officer should be specially selected for this duty and the strength of the escort should be determined by the Inspector General of Police.

By order of the Governor in Council,  
(Sd.) .....,  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Political).

[This Circular is kept in the Confidential Circular file.]

*Visitors' Book of the Yeravda Central Prison, 1917 to 1929.*

Date.	Remarks by the visitor.	Remarks by Superintendent or Medical
1	2	3
March 22, 1922.	The Committee consider it desirable that M. K. Gandhi and S. G. Banker who arrived last night should be kept separate from each other—	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. W. F. Hudson, D. M.</li> <li>2. G. K. Kale. Session J.</li> <li>3. P. T. Kirkpatrick. D.S.P.</li> <li>4. W. G. Rale.</li> <li>5. Joseph Rogers.</li> <li>6. Henry James Morrison Cousens.</li> </ol>	
April 22, 1922.	I saw Mr. Gandhi in his separate cell. In answer to my questions he said as far as physical comforts were concerned he lacked nothing. I also asked him with reference to the report in the papers that he was not well treated in several activities of comforts and necessaries were not supplied to him. He replied he got every thing he wanted, and again repeated he lacked nothing.	
	The one thing he complained was that he' was allowed a very limited space 70 feet to	Noted. He has made no complaint to me regarding this.



Date	Remarks by the Visitor.	Remarks by Superintendent or Medical Officer.
1	2	3
	<p>walk about. There is a chalk line drawn in the small enclosure beyond which he may not walk.</p> <p>In my opinion I see no objection in restricting his movement. He is not a man who would assault another political prisoner in the same yard ! If there is no objection, I would rather suggest his being allowed a walk in the open outside escorted by a Police man.</p> <p>He wants some Marathi and Sanskrit books—non-political of course. They will keep his mind engaged and I am sure there would be lots forthcoming from the lit. Libraries-which he wants are mostly religious.</p> <p>Sanitation perfect. The Ground, Cells, etc. could not be tidier.</p> <p>I found vegetables good, bread good, but there was dark stuff, looked like dust on a side of the tub containing Dhall. I would suggest oil being added in presence of a responsible official—there was no sign of oil and the man gave me a hesitating reply when I asked him if oil was added.</p> <p>I would suggest my proposal of making decent parts taken up once more for gardens. It will be a good source of income to the prison. Please see my records before.</p>	<p>He may walk about the whole yard.</p> <p>I cannot agree with Col. Khambatta on this point. It is not expedient to allow him to mix with others.</p> <p>Cannot be done at present.</p> <p>He is allowed to ask me about anything.</p> <p>He can be allowed if he mentions the books and they have been approved by Government.</p> <p>Noted.</p> <p>Noted.</p> <p>I have noticed this appearance about the Dhal, but it is not dust. I told Col. Khambatta once before that the oil was put in front of the a. g. or G. A.</p>

Date.	Remarks by the Visitor.	Remarks by Superintendent or Medical Officer.
1	2	3
1-2-1923.	<p>I saw Mr. Gandhi, as I always see him, he lacks no physical comforts: he gets he told me everything he wants ; so also Mr. Banker: they seem to me to be with pink of health. I particularly asked Mr. Gandhi if it was true that he had been <i>4 days unconscious</i> as given out in some papers: he said it was absurd any one to say so or write.</p>	
	<p>I request I am not satisfied with the bread: it was all scorched : I understand 5 drums of oil are allowed for ration: the taste of Dhall did not seem to have sufficient oil in it, as oil floats on the surface, there first served gets it: it would be better if arrangements would be devised of adding the oil to each individual ration. The policeman in charge of the kitchen could give no satisfactory replies and was besides my side.</p>	<p>I do not agree. The only complaint I ever get from Prisoners, is that the bread is slightly on the uncooked side. Can't be done. No one with any knowledge of cooking would think it could. Food material has to be cooked with the oil.</p>
	<p>I suppose the correct quantities of vegetables and leaves of sorts (which have no nourishment in them) are weighed in for the committee by some responsible subordinate.</p>	
	<p>All the same the men appeared to me in the best of health.</p>	
	<p>I wish the superintendent will provide pens that one could write letters—see the sample of my notes above !!</p>	<p>The gentleman can ask for a new pen if he wants one at anytime.</p>

*Nominal Roll of Prisoners sentenced for cognate offences, including Dharwar Riot Case confined in jails of the Bombay Presidency.*

Serial No.	Register No.	Name.	Age.	Health.	Crime.
1	2	3	4	5	6
3	827	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi	53	Fair	S 124(A), I. P. C.

Sentence and Date.				Conduct and Remarks as to how often punished in Jail, and by what mode of punishment.		
Sentence.	Date of sentence.	Result of Appeal.	Previous Convictions	Punishment.	Occupation.	Conduct.
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
6—0—0 S. I.	18-3-1922	No Appeal	<i>Nil.</i>	<i>Nil.</i>	--	Good.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 394 of 1922.  
Ratnagiri, 13th March 1922.

From:

Khan Bahadur S. M. Mehta,  
Superintendent, Ratnagiri District Prison;

To:

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Sir,

With reference to your Confidential No. 31 dated 7th instant giving cover to copy of No. 8/D dated 4th idem from Government in the Home Department, I have the honour to request information as to the class of prisoners to whom the concession as regards private books, stationery, and writing letters once a month is to be extended ; it will facilitate matters if the section of the Indian Penal Code, under which, the prisoners are confined and to whom this concession is given, is indicated.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) .....,  
Superintendent.

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22nd March 1922.

Superintendent.

In this connection please see this office Memo No. 14382 (Confidential) dated 18th October 1921.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

17th March 1922.

I would again direct the attention of Superintendents to my No. 14382 (Confidential) dated 18th October 1921.

It still seems as if some Superintendents do not grasp the fact that those prisoners sentenced for state and other cognate offences are to be treated like all others sentenced to R. I.

Papers, writing materials and etc., unless specially allowed by Government must not be given. I would draw the attention of all again to Government letters circulated under this office No. 31 Confl., dated 7th instant.

Superintendents will be held personally responsible if these orders are not carried out. Should there be any prisoners who are treated otherwise than what has been laid down in writing by me such discrimination must now cease. Certain prisoners have been given certain concessions in writing—these will stand.

Further every effort must be made to keep these prisoners absolutely apart from others—in order to prevent any intercourse likely to harm others—and to prevent any news of them, or from them going outside the jail. I leave it to Superintendents to adopt their own measures. But they must make them as effective as possible.

Letters written by prisoners are to be rigidly censored. And nothing outside purely domestic matters to be discussed in them.

If these prisoners do not carry out jail rules, they must be punished just the same as others. You must maintain discipline. Be strict but just in all your dealings with them. Keep a careful record of every incident in case questions are asked at any time.

I would here also point out to Superintendents Paras. 804 to 812 Jail Manual re : outbreak etc.

Should there be any questions to be put by Superintendents on these or matters relating thereto I would be obliged by their writing about them.

*Regarding Bombay Chronicle—Monday April 3rd—Page 7.*

An interview was granted by the Superintendent to Mr. Devidas Gandhi and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya to see No. 8677 (827) Gandhi on Saturday the 1st.

This prisoner is sentenced to 6 years' Simple Imprisonment, and as such is allowed privileges as laid down in Chapter XL. Bombay Jail Manual (Paras. 1002 to 1009).

As he was used to a particular diet outside viz. Goats' milk, bread, oranges, lemons, sugar, tea, raisins, he was given this on medical grounds. His own raisins were used till finished, and then raisins ordered when his should be finished. They were not finished when these people saw him and Gandhi told them so.

He is kept in a yard separate from others, for reasons that are sufficiently obvious. He has half the Yard to himself and he sleeps in a cell at night. He has ample space for exercise.

I have myself seen him several times, and he has expressed himself as quite satisfied with everything.

On Monday he asked me if he might retain some of his private books, two of which are religious, and this was allowed. He also was allowed to keep his cell open at night. He had already been given sheets and blankets by the Superintendent, and a pillow has since been provided. A commode has been supplied on medical grounds. He is not allowed any news-papers, and has not asked for them.

During the interview he particularly said to Mr. Rajagopalacharya that he did not wish his name to appear in the papers, except to say that he was quite well. He also said, if at any time his health was failing, or any time trouble arose, the fault would be his own, and no one else's.

I have seen Gandhi several times since his arrival here and he has always expressed himself as quite satisfied and made no complaints.

(Sd.) F. Mell,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. Confdl, of 1922.  
p. 299

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 5th April 1922.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments, for information, with reference to H. D. No. 1701-D, dated 4th April 1922.

Gandhi's interview with Mr. Devadas Gandhi and  
Rajgopalacharya.

&

Bombay Chronicle Report to Government.

3rd April 1922.

No. 1701-D,  
Home Department:  
Mahableshwar, 5th April 1922.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Crerar to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 4th April 1922 regarding the inaccurate statements published in the "Bombay Chronicle" of—Monday last about Gandhi's treatment in jail.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) .....

To

Lieutenant Colonel F.O.N., Mell, C.I.E., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prison, POONA.

Below copy of a cutting from the "Bombay Chronicle" dated the 7th April 1922.

No. 78-A.D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Mahabaleshwar, 10th April 1922.

Forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, for remarks.

By order of the Governor in Council,  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.

Monday, April 3rd, 1922.  
Page 7.

Col. 1 and 2.

### **MAHATMA'S TREATMENT IN JAIL.**

#### **Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's Interview.**

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, along with Mr. Devadas Gandhi returned to Bombay yesterday, after seeing Mahatma Gandhi in the Yeravda Jail on the 1st instant. Interviewed by the 'Chronicle' representative Mr. Achariar said :—

Mr. Devadas Gandhi and myself went to Poona on Friday last to see Mahatmaji who, we learnt, was in the Yeravda Jail. We were informed by Mr. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society that the Superintendent had orders to allow only one interview in three months. Mahatmaji's son, Mr. Devadas, accompanied by

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Mr. Thakkar and myself went to the Jail and requested the Superintendent to allow us to see Mahatmaji. We were told that only one of us two Thakkar or myself could accompany Mr. Devadas (Gandhi) Mr. Thakkar resigned in my favour.

The prisoner was brought down by a Warden to the Superintendent's room and we were called in. The Superintendent was in his chair. Mahatmaji standing in front of his table. He had to continue standing throughout the interview.

#### **Mahatmaji's Food**

In answer to questions about his food, Mahatmaji said that he was given goat's milk and bread. The milk being given all at a time he had cut down his three meals to two. Asked what he did for fruits, he said he was given 2 oranges a day. Raisins which he had mentioned as a part of his usual diet had not yet been ordered to be given. The Superintendent, however, promised to allow this. Mahatmaji's milk is heated for him on a stove in the yard which some Arab Prisoners are using.

#### **Forced Seclusion**

Mahatmaji is not allowed to see Mr. Shankerlal, who is in the same Prison or any other Prisoners. Mahatmaji is kept in one of the cells intended for solitary confinement and locked in during nights. The cell has two ventilators, one near the roof and another at the floor. It has a verandah, besides which in the day time an area marked out for him in the yard is allowed for walking. The night pot has to be in the same little cell during nights. At our interview the Superintendent promised to replace the crude pot by a commode.

No articles are allowed from outside. Mahatmaji is not allowed even his own bed. He is given the usual 2 Jail blankets. I was curious to ask if he had any pillow. He said he had none. When I expressed surprise the Superintendent interposed that a pillow was a luxury. For utensils Mahatmaji has the usual jail mug and dish. He is, however, allowed his own spoon.

#### **No Newspapers Given**

Mahatmaji is given no newspapers. The Superintendent said that no books of his own would be allowed, not even purely religious books. Mahatmaji appears to have strongly remonstrated on this subject. The Superintendent said during our interview that if Mahatmaji applied, he would forward his petition to Government. He has not been deprived of his writing paper and pen, which he is just now using only to learn Urdu by himself.

Mahatmaji was in his usual single loin cloth. He did not seem to us to be in good health, though the jailor told us that he had gained in weight.

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**Treated as a Common Prisoner**

It is clear except in the matter of food to the limited extent mentioned, by me, Mahatmaji is treated strictly as a Common Prisoner under the Bombay Jail Code, which in many respects, is worse than the codes of other provinces. Of course, Mahatmaji told me that he did not want any complaints to be made about his life in jail. But the fine words uttered by the Judge at the famous trial at Ahmedabad had led us all to hope that the Government of Bombay would treat the great prisoner, if not exactly as he deserved or as we would want, at least as civilised Governments would treat their more important prisoners of war. Our interview, however, rudely awakened to the realities of British Indian Administration.

Wednesday, April 5, 1922. Page. 6.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE  
**EDITORIAL**  
**Mahatma in Jail**

We are glad the Director of Information has lost no time in issuing a note regarding the treatment of Mahatma Gandhi in Jail. We welcome the publication of the note because we take it as an evidence of the recognition, on the part of authorities, not merely of the fact that the country is deeply interested in the treatment meted out to the Mahatma but also of the necessity of satisfying it that the treatment is of a character in keeping with the esteem and love in which it regards him. The note lays emphasis on the fact that during the interview which Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and Mr. Devadass Gandhi had with him, the Mahatma " distinctly stated that he did not want his prison life to be discussed in the papers but only that it should be stated that he was quite well". The emphasis was not necessary because Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar himself definitely stated in his interview that Mahatmaji did not want any complaints to be made about his life in jail. This attitude, on the part of Mahatma, was to be expected. For, it would be the gravest injustice to the Mahatma and a gross misunderstanding of his movement even to suggest that he would make any complaint about his treatment in jail in any conceivable circumstances. The test is not what the Mahatma thinks about his treatment but whether the treatment is in keeping with what the country thinks is due to him.

He has himself pleaded guilty to the charge for which he was tried and has asked for no mercy. But his countrymen know that though he has broken the law of the land, he has not ceased to be the noblest of India's sons, to whom homage is due by every Indian patriot. With him the honour of India is indissolubly bound. But what law, as it exists today (and Indian opinion is unanimous that



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the present law of sedition is bad law) merely requires according to the Judge, is, that the Mahatma should be sent to jail. In what form the sentence of imprisonment should be carried out is a matter entirely in the discretion of the Government and that this is so is clear from the treatment accorded to Pandit Motilal Nehru, for example, by the U. P. Government. It was expected that, having regard to the great and saintly personality of the Mahatma and the esteem and love in which he is held by his countrymen, the Government of Bombay would treat him, what time they restricted his liberty of action and writing under the law, with the courtesy and honour that is due to him in the eyes of all right thinking men and women. In the view of that Government the Mahatma writings and activities are unlawful and dangerous. Well, by the sentence on the Mahatma they have secured the stoppage of his writings and his activities. Is it necessary even from their point of view, that he should be treated as an ordinary prisoner.? On the other hand, to treat him as such under the technical cover of the sentence is to humiliate India. He must be treated, as every civilised Government treats its important prisoners of war, under conditions of honour and courtesy due to his personality and to the country which regards him, as we have said, as its noblest son.

The note issued by the Director of Information is unsatisfactory because, though it refers to certain concessions, it does not alter the broad conclusion arrived at by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, that the Mahatma is treated like a common prisoner. Besides, it must be noted that, according to the note, only in " certain—not all— respects are the statements made by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar entirely untrue ". The country knows Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar too well readily to believe that he is capable of giving distorted accounts of the interview. On the other hand it knows something of the manner in which Press Notes issued by the Director of Information are prepared ; evidently in this particular instance the ultimate source of official information is either the Superintendent of Yeravda Jail or the Inspector-General of Prisons. In the circumstances, the only way of satisfying the public as to the proper treatment of the Mahatma is for the Government of Bombay to allow a non-official, commanding the confidence of the country as a whole—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for instance—to inspect the jail and see for himself how the Mahatma is treated. But apart from this, as we have said, having regard to the personality of the Mahatma and the place he occupies in the hearts of his countrymen, and in the eyes of Asia and the World, what is due to him and the self-respect of India is that he should be treated with honour and courtesy and jealous regard for his health.

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April 5th 1922. Page 7.

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE.  
**MAHATMA'S JAIL LIFE**  
**Government's Contradiction.**

The Director of Information sends us the following:—

Misleading and, in certain respects entirely untrue statements regarding the treatment of Mr. Gandhi in Yeravda Goal have appeared in certain newspapers. The following note gives the facts :—

Mr. Gandhi is given precisely the same diet to which he was accustomed when he was free, namely, goat's milk, bread, oranges, lemons, sugar, tea and raisins. He brought his own raisins to prison with him which he used until they were finished and a fresh supply was provided for him by the Jail authorities. It is untrue to say that he is locked in at night. He has separate quarters of his own, one cell to sleep in and other to work during the day. The sleeping cell he is allowed to keep open at night. Half the yard is reserved for him to exercise and space is ample for the purpose, as Mr. Gandhi has stated to the authorities on several occasions. Mr. Gandhi has not asked for any newspapers and his request to be allowed to retain some of his private books was granted as soon as it was made. A pillow in addition to the usual bedding was supplied when it was asked for. A commode for use at night was placed in the cell on medical grounds for the benefit of the prisoner. It should be added that Mr. Gandhi has been seen by Inspector-General of Prison on several occasions and has each time made no complaints but on the contrary expressed himself as completely satisfied with the treatment he is receiving. Moreover, on the occasion of the interview which some of Mr. Gandhi's friends had with him and of which distorted accounts have appeared in the press, Mr. Gandhi distinctly stated that he did not want his prison life discussed in the papers but only that it should be stated that he was quite well.

*Copy of a cutting from the "Bombay Chronicle", dated  
the 7th April 1922.*

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's Rejoinder.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who left Bombay last night for Madras, gave an interview to a "Chronicle" representative about the contradiction of his statement concerning Mahatma Gandhi's treatment in the Yeravda Jail, given by the Director of Information.

In answer to a question whether he had seen the Note issued by the Director of Information in connection with his interview with Mahatma Gandhi, he said: "Immediately I saw it yesterday at Ahmedabad I sent a reply to be published in "Young India", which

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I believe you will extract for the readers of "The Chronicle". Every item in the Government note which pretends to contradict my statement is based on arrangements made subsequent to my interview and in some cases probably only after the publication of facts. The Director's note is so worded as to mislead the public to believe that these arrangements had been made all through and that my information is incorrect. As a matter of fact if Mahatmaji's son and I had not sought the interview, which we did somewhat unwillingly, I am positive that the state of things I described would have continued uninterrupted.

Q.—Do you mean to say that Mahatma Gandhi was locked in his cell at night till after the publication of your interview.

A.—Yes. In spite of the Government equivocations, I repeat that up to the time of my interview Mahatmaji was made to sleep in a solitary cell locked in at night and had only 2 jail blankets for bedding and no pillow.

Q.—Are the present arrangements, as revealed in the Government note, satisfactory ?

A.—A careful reading of the Government note will show that even now the following points are not clear:—

(1) Whether Mahatmaji is to continue as a solitary prisoner or whether he will have the company of Mr. Shankerlal Banker or others. Persons undergoing simple imprisonment under the ordinary Jail Code are not deprived of human association except by way of special punishment. Such segregation would be an executive Act of State but cannot be justified by the sentence passed on Mahatmaji.

(2) What facilities for interviews or writing of letters will be permitted.

(3) Whether any newspapers will be allowed.

(4) Whether necessary articles, such as private bedding from outside will be permitted.

The main question whether Mahatmaji is to be treated as a common prisoner with modification on medical grounds, such as are open in the case of every prisoner, or whether the Government will treat Mahatmaji and other political prisoners as of a different class is not cleared in this Note. What appeared as concessions in the Government Note are no more than an ordinary prisoner is entitled to receive in similar circumstances on medical grounds.

Q.—Do you think Non-co-operators should be treated differently from common prisoners ?

A.—All the civilised world over, political prisoners are treated differently from common prisoners. Mahatmaji and all non-co-operating prisoners are, however, quite prepared to be

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treated as common prisoners. But let there be no pretence of civilisation on the part of the Government.

Q.—How has Mahatmaji taken the treatment accorded to him ?

A.—It is said that Mahatmaji is "completely satisfied with the treatment he is receiving". This is so because, as he told me at the interview, he does not expect the jail authorities to know anything about what a human being needs, apart from the requirements of his animal body. He was "completely satisfied" even when he was made to stand throughout the interview. When I referred to a pillow he smiled and said it was not necessary. But such treatment accorded to a man of that character even for a single day, whatever improvements may hereafter be made, shows the mentality with which we have to deal. I do not see that Government have made any concession.

*True copy.*  
For Superintendent.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION.  
(ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE).  
Bombay, 13th April 1922.  
D.O. No. 696.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Dear Sir,

You may have noticed a Press Note issued by me dealing with the treatment of Mr. Gandhi in jail in reply to a statement made by some friends who visited him at Yeravda. This was based on information contained in a letter from you to Mr. Adam which contained a list of the foodstuffs supplied to Mr. Gandhi included tea. The criticism is being made that tea was not one of Mr. Gandhi's ordinary articles of diet because he had condemned its use and that therefore it must be untrue to say that he was supplied with it. I should be glad if you would let me know as soon as possible whether this is correct or not. Another point to which criticism is being directed is that Mr. Gandhi was made to stand for an hour, while the interview took place. May I take it that this is a standing rule of the jail, that a prisoner brought before the Superintendent has to stand while in his presence in the same way that a soldier has to stand before his superior officer in the orderly room ?

Yours very faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. F. Gennings,  
Director of Information.

To

Lt. Col. F.O.N. Mell, I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons. Bombay Presidency, Poona.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 3569 of 1922.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 24th April 1922.

From

Lt-Col. R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Regarding your endorsement No. 395-B, dated 19th April 1922, forwarding Confidential letter D/O No. 696, dated 13th April 1922 from the Director of Information, I have the honour to state that you were quite correct in stating that M. K. Gandhi was supplied with tea.  $\frac{1}{2}$  ounce of tea and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of sugar were supplied to M. K. Gandhi and S. G. Banker daily, as it was understood that both prisoners desired this comfort. Later on, on M. K. Gandhi saying definitely to the Superintendent that he did not take tea and that he did not desire it, the issue of tea was stopped from 12th April 1922.

The issue of sugar is still given. In case there is any doubt in the matter I may say that the following rations are supplied daily to M. K. Gandhi: —

- (1)  $1\frac{1}{4}$  pounds of European Bread.
- (2) Three pounds of goat's milk.
- (3)  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of sugar. (4) Four oranges. (5) Two limes. (6) Two ounces of raisins.
- (7) One ounce of butter made from goat's milk.
- (8) Half a pound flour.
- (9) A sufficiency of table salt.
- (10) A sufficiency of bicarbonate of soda.

The number of oranges was raised from two to four at the suggestion of the Superintendent. This increase in the number of the oranges was accepted by M. K. Gandhi after a certain amount of hesitancy.

The issue of butter, was not asked for, or suggested by the prisoner, but was given by the Superintendent, after learning by questioning that the prisoner would eat butter.

The flour, the salt and the bicarbonate of soda are supplied so that the butter may be made more palatable by incorporating it in a cake.

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From the above it will be seen that we have been attempting to anticipate the unusual tastes of this prisoner.

Yes, the Director of Information is correct in suggesting that a prisoner stands in the presence of the Superintendent. Even the European Jailor, however, senior he may be, stands in the presence of the Superintendent. Hitherto it has not been considered " Infra dig " for a prisoner to stand.

Regarding the interview referred to: —

The interview took place on 1st April 1922. The interview had not been prearranged for that day, for less had the hour been fixed. M. K. Gandhi's son and a friend arrived and it was at once ascertained whether or no the prisoner desired the interview. M. K. Gandhi was brought along, not by a warder but by a European Jailor. The Superintendent's Office is not as a rule ready for a meeting place, although, there is always a chair for a casual visitor. When M. K. Gandhi was brought to the Superintendent's Office the Superintendent was at his office table, doing his work and incidentally surrounded by ammunition boxes and was actually checking the ammunition as it is usual to do this on the first day of each month. Very soon after the arrival of M. K. Gandhi the two visitors were shown in and the interview began. The interview began by an " Emotional" outburst on the part of Mr. Gandhi junior. Even if it had been thought of, the time would not have been opportune for offering chairs to the group. Shortly afterwards Mr. Gandhi junior called my attention to the fact that his father was standing in front of me. There was no suggestion made that M. K. Gandhi was or would be fatigued, but, stress was put on the fact that the prisoner was standing in the presence of the Superintendent. It appeared to me that the offence was not really so much that the prisoner was standing but that the Superintendent was sitting. When Mr. Gandhi junior paused I expressed my willingness to allow M. K. Gandhi to have a chair but he expressed no desire that way. M. K. Gandhi conversed with animation during the whole interview and there was no need of a chair on medical grounds. The time, allowed by the regulations, is 20 minutes, but out of courtesy I allowed the interview to be greatly extended, as a matter of fact the interview did not last an hour. M. K. Gandhi himself is under no delusion as to the great kindness and consideration shown to him, a convicted prisoner, and ordered his son to thank me, and his last exhortation to his visitors was that they were to *remember* that if at any time they heard that his health had broken down it would be due to himself alone and not to the Superintendent.

Incidentally I may say that M. K. Gandhi was allowed to retain in his possession his 18 books, and any statement to the contrary is untrue.

I have, etc.,  
 (Sd.) R. M. Dalziel,  
 M.B., Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
 Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. Confdl. of 1922.

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INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
 Poona, 25th April 1922.

To

The Director of Information, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments with reference to his D. O. No. 696, dated 13th received on the 18th instant.

2. I regret the delay, which was unavoidable.

(Sd.) F. Mell.  
 M.B., CM., D.P.H., Lt. Col. I.M.S.,  
 Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 3684 of 1922.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
 Yeravda, 27th April 1922.

From

Lt-Col. R. M. Dalziel, I.M.S.,  
 Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
 Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

As asked by you I have the honour to send you my remarks regarding the cutting from the " Bombay Chronicle dated 7th April 1922.

M. K. Gandhi was sentenced to simple imprisonment and was sent to Jail as a convicted prisoner under a clear warrant. The orders of Government regarding such prisoners are clear and are laid down in Chapter XL of Bombay Jail Manual.

The orders given to me regarding this prisoner were that he should be treated like any other prisoner. These orders I understand were received by the Inspector General of Prisons verbally from His Excellency himself. It is always understood that certain modifications may be made on medical grounds, and in this case the Medical Officer has stretched his powers to the breaking point as will be



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seen. Certain orders have been issued by Government regarding so called " Political" prisoners and as in some of these M. K. Gandhi has been mentioned by name, it cannot be suggested that Government has not considered the matter.

With respect to this kindly see the orders issued through your office.

Some of the assertions made by Mr. Rajgopalacharya must be due to his own egotism. No concession was given because of his interview, and such gentlemen should at once be informed that no concession can, or will, be given because they dictate, or think they can dictate, to the Superintendent, who is a commissioned officer and will obey the orders only of the Government which he serves.

Permission to have the prisoner's cell left open, which involved permission to sleep outside, if desired, was not given because of the interview, but because permission was obtained from His Excellency, who happened to be in Poona on 2nd April 1922 and the Inspector-General of Prisons obtained permission from His Excellency himself.

Before the interview the prisoner had been informed that I would obtain orders on the subject. I hope I shall never be so unjust to my Jailors and warners as to allow a newly admitted long term prisoner to have his cell or barrack left unlocked, especially as we had orders to be specially careful regarding the prisoner in question.

I recommended the concession to the Inspector General of Prisons as I felt that M. K. Gandhi could be trusted not to abuse the privilege.

The prisoner arrived very late on 21st March 1922 and on 2nd April 1922 the permission was obtained. It will therefore be seen that the privilege was asked for, carefully considered, recommended, and sanction obtained for this unique concession, all in a very few days. It is incorrect to say that M. K. Gandhi had only two Jail blankets for bedding. At the time of the interview, although the weather was not cold M. K. Gandhi had *in addition* to the bedding, laid down by regulations, one extra blanket and two sheets as extras, also his own two blankets, and his own two sheets. He was also given one loin cloth and two Jail towels in addition to his own two towels.

He had therefore—

1. Four blankets.
2. Four sheets.
3. One coir mat.

Subsequently he was given a second coir mat. The articles of *Jail* bedding were all brand new, which shows we desired to be as



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kind as possible. The pillow was given, not because of the interview, but because it was mentioned for the first time and because for the first time M. K. Gandhi expressed his desire or willingness to have one. Even then he did not seem specially " keen " on it.

A man who was sleeping indoors with four blankets and four sheets etc., when the weather was not cold, could very easily improvise a comfortable pillow with his redundant bedding. I think this sufficiently explains why M. K. Gandhi had not previously suggested a pillow although he had had many opportunities for doing so, quite apart from the fact that this prisoner is always witty, cheerful and conversational and anything but shy about asking for anything that he really wants.

M. K. Gandhi will have facilities as regards interviews, and writing letters, in accordance with the orders laid down by Government, which kindly see.

Newspapers will be refused vide the orders laid down by Government, which kindly see.

He will not have any more private bedding unless ordered by Government. To give more would further contravene para. 1005, Bombay Jail Manual.

With regard to treatment of non-co-operators, I am a Jail Superintendent and as such have no political opinion. M. K. Gandhi says he is as happy as a bird and certainly looks so. In his own letter dated 14th April 1922 he does not complain against the Jail authorities. It is said that when asked about a pillow " he smiled ". Perhaps he was thinking of all those books and extra blankets which he knew all the time he had in his quarters. So little " displeased " is this prisoner with the Jail authorities that he ordered his son to thank the Superintendent, and his last exhortation to his visitors was that they were to remember that if at any time they heard that his health had broken down, it would be due to himself alone and not to the Superintendent.

M. K. Gandhi admits that his 18 books were given to him on the morning after he arrived here. He says he informed his visitors at the interview regarding this.

M. K. Gandhi admits that on the morning following his arrival, in addition to his Jail bedding, he was given his own bedding, i.e. two blankets and two sheets. He says he informed his visitors about this also.

Some men should pray to be saved from their friends and a friend in need "of copy" is not always a friend in deed. I give below a copy of a letter from M. K. Gandhi to myself.

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23rd April 1922.  
Yeravda Goal.

Sir,

I could not rest last night. I must not take lemons and sugar any more. I have come here not to indulge myself but to be under stricter discipline. Lemons and sugar are now an indulgence for me. I accepted them when I thought I would have to be satisfied with two oranges only. Now that you have increased the number of oranges and offered to give even more fruit if my health needed it, there is no excuse for taking lemons and sugar, and I must not take them simply to give them away. For the last reason I must ask you please to withdraw bread also. Yesterday I got 1¼ lb. instead of ¾ lb. It is one thing to leave what you cannot eat, another to take and give or throw away. I assure you that so far as my food is concerned you are taking every possible care and I have no reason for complaint. I may tell you that I don't use even the full ½ lb. of flour that is issued to me, but I asked for ½ lb. as I did not know how much I should be able to take. You make what use you like of this letter.

I would not have troubled you with this but I did not know whether I should have the pleasure of a visit from you today, and I did not wish to be party to waste longer than I could help.

The History of your country which I am reading with keen interest teaches me more and more the lessons I learnt early in life that a man who does not take care of details like pennies is not likely to mind principals like pounds.

My request—Pray withdraw lemons, sugar, bread and salt issued with flour.

I remain,  
(Sd.) M. K. Gandhi.

The letter was written on Sunday as the next day was the day on which he is under a vow not to speak, even in answer to a question. The bread had been reduced for some days to ¾lb. at his own request. The oranges were increased to four at my suggestion, but he had much diffidence in accepting the increase. He wont accept more than two ounces of raisins. It is long since I arranged with him that he could have his fruit increased or varied if and when he desired. The supply of tea was stopped at his own request. The butter was supplied at my suggestion, and was not even suggested, or asked by the prisoner. In order to make it more palatable he was also given—(this at his suggestion) ½ lb. flour (Paisley flour is now ordered) so that it might be made into a cake. The necessary table salt and baking powder was also supplied. So that he might have the pleasure of making the cake himself. I supplied him with

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a rolling pin, baking board, baking pan, and new choola. It should be understood that the butter is made from goats milk. He also has 3 lbs. of goat's milk i.e. the amount he desires.

He has his own special bathing arrangements. His own special sanitary arrangements with a European Commode. He has been given a brand new douche can & c. to use as enema. He is allowed to do special spinning. This is really a hobby as all the material and arrangements are special and cause extra labour to my staff. He has not been vaccinated. He is allowed to refuse to speak for 24 hours every week. I have ordered him a book case. He is not asked to do any of his own work e.g. cleaning his cells. During the day he has in his vicinity a specially selected convict warder who is practically an attendant as he toasted his bread and boiled his milk. At night he has another convict warder. This is the warder who acts as my " Body guard " during the day and is the very convict warder whom His Excellency at his last visit here rewarded with liberal remission for an act of loyalty. He is not in the solitary cells area at all. He is in that suite of cells in which His Excellency saw some European and other "prisoners of war". He has the exclusive use of three cells and could have more if he desired. He has full use of the whole of the compound. This area is triangular in shape the sides of which measure 126, 120, and 72 feet respectively. He has not to adhere to any time table and may eat, sleep, bathe, and exercise at his own pleasure.

Many days ago he was told he might have more books and was asked to submit a list but has so far not done so. Many days ago he was told he might have periodicals, if approved by Government but has not submitted to me the name of any periodical for approval. On finding that periodicals did not mean newspapers, he made frivolous suggestions and "turned down" my suggestion that such magazines as Blackwood & c., might be allowed. I understand that he would like the " Chronicle". I believe that his only intense desire is to have S. L. Banker as his companion. He actually requested that he should be in the same cell with him. When these two prisoners came I put them in adjacent cells, but the Jail Committee, with the Collector of Poona himself as Chairman, disapproved and very definitely suggested that these two prisoners shall be separated. The irony of it all therefore is, that in spite of all the " baiting " of Jail authorities the only real "grievance" which M. K. Gandhi appears to feel is due to an order given at the instigation of an authority outside the Jail Department altogether.

Another but lesser "grievance" which he seems to feel is that he is not allowed to walk about outside the exercising area above referred to.

He is quite frank about it and says he would like to go right outside and as he himself put it, "walk about the moon light".

The higher authorities must decide whether this long term, recently admitted, and influential, convicted prisoner, should be given a roving commission all over the Jail and at night too ?

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL.  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

*Report on No. 8677 M. K. Gandhi.*

(1) 3 Cells, 12 ft. by 12 ft. are placed at his disposal. Each of them having two ventilators. They are used in the following manner:—

1 to sleep in.

1 for spinning cotton (which he does voluntarily).

1 as a latrine. In which is placed a commode and a douche for his own personal use.

(2) He has the following bedding in his possession:—

(Issued new) 2 blankets, (warm).  
(Issued new) 2 sheets. (Cotton).  
(Issued new) 1 pillow. (with case).  
(Issued new) 2 coir mattresses.  
(Issued new) 1 Loin cloth.  
(Issued new) 2 Towels.

These are private property :—  
3 Blankets.  
2 Sheets.  
2 Towels.

Property of Jail. I would mention that only 1 Blanket, 1 mattress coir are allowed to prisoners during the summer months. While admitting that a pillow was granted after his first interview, I should have seen to it being given earlier had he been admitted on the sick list.

(3) Cooking utensils: —

1 Pastry Board (Concession).

1 Rolling Pin (Concession).

1. Pan for Baking Bread (Concession).

2. Water Chattee (One a Concession).

1. Segerie (Concession).

2. Mugs (One a Concession).

2 Plates (One a concession).

1 Spoon (A Concession, ordinarily for European only.)

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(4) In addition to the above he has a private bathing shed erected in the yard with the following utensils at his disposal:—

- 1 Tankard for holding water only for his personal use.
- 1 Bath tub.

(5) The following literature both private and Jail property is in his possession:—

- 13 Books. (Private Property).
- 2 Books. (Jail Property).
- 2 Books. (Lent him by Superintendent).
- 1 Book. (Lent him by Jailor).

(6) Miscellaneous Concessions:—

(One Jail) 2 Cotton Spinning Wheels (1 his own private property).

(One Jail) 2 pairs Leather sandals.

- 1 pair wooden sandals.
- 1 pair scissors. 1 Reel Cotton.
- 1 Needle.
- 1 Pen knife.

(7) He receives the following rations daily:—

- European Bread 1¼ lbs.
- Goats Milk 3 lbs.
- Flour ½ lb.
- Sugar 1½ Ozs.
- Oranges 4.
- Lemons 2.
- Goat's Milk Butter 1 oz.
- Raisins 2 ozs.
- Table salt 1 Teaspoonful.
- Bisc. Soda 1 Teaspoonful.

(8) Two orderlies are placed at his disposal:—

- 1 by day.
- 1 by night.

Jailor,  
Superintendent Section.

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**CONFIDENTIAL,**No. 4142 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 11th May 1922.

From

Lieut. Colonel R. M. Dalziel, M.B.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Central Prison, Yeravda.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Regarding your confidential No. 505, dated 27th April 1922, I have the honour to say that prisoners M. K. Gandhi and S. G. Banker are allowed to sleep outside. The necessary precautions made are as follows:—

(A) Two Convict Warders (short termers) sleep near the open Wards.

(B) Two Convict Overseers are patrolling all night one at each place where these two " Political" prisoners are incarcerated.

(C) Five Warders go their rounds during the night and each of these Warders visit the areas above mentioned, so that these prisoners are seen at least once every hour by one of the patrolling Warders.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt. Colonel, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**No. 9849 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS OFFICE:  
Poona, 10th June 1922.

MEMORANDUM.

Whenever any prisoner is to be prosecuted (especially those prisoners sentenced to state and other cognate offences) the Superintendent will endeavour to have the case tried inside the Jail, and will do his best to persuade the District Magistrate' that it is in the best interests of Government that the case should not be tried outside. This will effectually prevent any demonstrations of sympathy for the prisoners being made in the court.

(Sd.) F. MELL,  
M.B., CM., D.P.H, Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay,

Copy forwarded with compliments for information with reference to H.D. No. 78D, dated 10th instant. The Superintendent's report is a very full one and no comment from me is necessary.

(Sd.) F. MELL,  
M.B.C.M.D.P.N. Lt-Colonel I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency-1.

Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.  
Date : 30th April 1922.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yerowda Jail,  
Yerowda (Poona).

Sir,

May I request you to be so kind as to place the enclosed copies of *Young India* in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi? But if you are prevented by any Government order from doing this favour you will of course not do so. In that case, I shall expect the copies to be returned to me.

Thanking you in anticipation.

I remain,  
Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) KRISHNADAS.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. Confidential of 1922.

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INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 6th May 1922.

Suptd.

The copies should be returned to the applicant.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 6507 of 1922.  
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,  
14th July 1922.

From

Lt-Col. R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to send you the report asked by you with reference to S.D. 2298, dated 13th July 1922.

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M. K. Gandhi was allowed to continue to use the charka which he brought with him, so that he might at once continue to spin the raw material (cotton), which he had also brought with him. His charka was a simple affair like those supplied to prisoners but with some difference which M. K. Gandhi claimed to be an improvement. The jail authorities obtained a supply of raw cotton for him but it did not please him and he said it was not clean. His relations were therefore allowed to send suitable raw cotton to the jail for the use of the prisoners (Bankar and Gandhi).

M. K. Gandhi made it very clear that he would not eat until he had done a certain amount of spinning. It would therefore have been inexpedient for the Superintendent to have argued on such a minor point as it might have produced complications with serious results with regard to the health of M. K. Gandhi, and I believe that the health of this prisoner is one of the points which are of great importance with regard to his treatment in jail. Another very important question is, I believe, with regard to his written and verbal messages to his followers outside.

With regard to the giving of the thread, made by the prisoners, to Mrs. Gandhi. It was small in amount. Mrs. Gandhi earnestly requested to have the thread and on account of her age and apparent fragility, this boon was conceded, as Mrs. Gandhi did not appear to have any ulterior motive in making the request.

The visitors behaved with courtesy and I believed they would act honourably.

M. K. Gandhi is allowed to write letters if he keeps to certain subjects and moderate wording and if passed by Government.

A document written and signed by a notable person is always considered of more value than such an article as a bundle of thread and this idea was at the back of my mind when I granted the boon.

I did not think that the thread would go beyond Mrs. Gandhi herself and I did not think it would be considered such a price

Under the circumstances I think that the fictitious value put on the yarn by the Journalists is a confession of failure and an indirect admission of the completeness of the victory of Government over M. K. Gandhi's followers.

I deeply regret the incident and shall exercise more foresight in the future.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col. M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.



NATIONAL TREASURE  
YARN SPUN BY MAHATMA.  
**Sent to Mrs. Gandhi.**  
(Associated Press).

Ahmedabad, July 11.

A parcel of yarn spun by Mr. Gandhi in Yeravda Jail has been received in the Satyagraha Ashram as it was demanded by Mrs. Gandhi when she went there a short time ago. It is about 10 lbs. in weight.

Ask I. G. of Prisons to report on this. We cannot permit Mr. Gandhi's followers to go wild over Mr. Gandhi's yarn. It was suggested in some Native papers recently possibly the Kesari or Maratha?\*

(Sd.) .....,  
12-7.

**Very Urgent.**

U. O. R. to I. G. of Prisons No. S. D. 2298.  
dated 13th July 1922.

Superintendent. Please report.

(Sd.) F. Mell

13th July 1922.

Herewith the Superintendent's report.

(Sd.) R. M. Dalziel.

The spinning is quite right but the yarn had better not again leave the prison.

*U.O.R. to I.G.P.*

17/7.

*After H. E. has seen in the reference attached D.O. from P.S.I.*

*Colonel Dalziel has no cause to apologise in any way. These small points are merely points of discretion and he must be allowed to exercise discretion if we are to avoid other difficulties. I agree however with him. Note as far as possible this kind of advertisement should be discouraged. Lt-Colonel Dalziel see.*

\*\* G. 19/7.

U.O.R. to I.G. of Prison. S.O. 2362 dated 20th July 1922.

Seen.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL.

U. O. R. No. 26, dated 21st July 1922.

**Daily synopsis of newspaper articles prepared for  
His Excellency's perusal.**

The *Kesari* (Extremist), dated the 4th July 1922, in its leading ,. article tries to repudiate the insinuation made by the *Bombay*

\*Kesari of the 4th July 1922 daily synopsis attached.

\*\* Mr. George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay.

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*Chronicle* in one of its recent issues to the effect that the motive of the Maharashtra leaders in their differences in the matter of the details of the non-co-operation programme is to make Poona the centre of all political activities and remarks that it is not for a convert who advocates Pan-Islamism ad nauseam to teach patriotism to the leaders of Maharashtra. In an editorial note the paper refers to the visit paid by Mrs. Gandhi and her two sons to Mr. Gandhi in the Yeravda Jail and remarks:— The visit was due to Mr. Gandhi and there is nothing special about the permission granted for it. The visit was paid under the supervision of the Superintendent of the Jail but it is said that the conversation at the visit was not much interrupted. Mr. Gandhi's health is in a good condition and he is supplied with the articles of food he usually takes. No special concession is accorded to him. It is, however, a matter for joy that he is allowed to make use of his favorite *Charka* and is supplied with the material for working it. Mr. Gandhi carries out the jail regulations very strictly and it would not be out of place to give him any concession. Mr. Gandhi has spun much yarn in the jail and it is probable that the jail authorities will give their permission for its being sent out. When the yarn comes out it will be very much valued by the people and it ought to fetch more than its weight in gold. The yarn should be put to public auction and placed in sandle-wood box under lock and key. The yarn will occupy an honoured position in any swadeshi exhibition and the person who purchases it and his descendant will be highly respected by the public.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE:  
Ganeshkhind.

Dear Crerar,

His Excellency has noticed that some of the yarn that Gandhi has spun in Jail has found its way to Ahmedabad.

His Excellency does not think that this should be permitted as a general rule and wishes you to look into it.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) C. G. ADAM.

J. Crerar Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 921 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 25th July 1922.

MEMORANDUM

After prisoner M. K. Gandhi had an interview on 1st July 1922, with members of his family, the yarn spun by him and prisoner S. L. G. Banker in prison, was sent to Mrs. Gandhi as she had

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earnestly desired it. As this kindness has been mis-understood and abused please see that in future no similar concession is given.

(Sd.) Lt. Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 8.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 15th March 1922

From  
J. Crerar, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,  
The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

The attention of the Government of Bombay has been called to a statement appearing in the Press\* purporting to be a message to the public sent by Mr. M. K. Gandhi through a writer who interviewed him in Jail. The conditions under which interviews with under-trial prisoners are permitted are detailed in Rule 995 of the Bombay Jail Manual Volume I. Such interviews, except for the purposes of consulting counsel regarding the prisoner's defence or of arranging with friends for the management of property, are left entirely to the discretion of the Superintendent. They should not be allowed for the purposes of discussing political matters or issuing messages to the public, and before granting them the Superintendent should obtain an undertaking that this condition will be observed.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) J. CRERAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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\* Bombay Chronicle, March 13, 1922 entitled Mahatma's message to Bombay.

No. Confl. of 1922.

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INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 17th March 1922.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy forwarded for information and guidance, in continuation of this office No. 3676 Confdl., dated 25th February 1922.

(Sd.) .....,

M.B., CM., D.P.H.,

Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1404 of 1922.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 10th November 1922.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for favour of orders as to whether the letter should be passed on.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

M.B.

Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

No. 11654 of 1922.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 8th November 1922.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Manager,  
Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

I have been requested by M. K. Gandhi to ask you if you would kindly send him the two below mentioned periodicals commencing from January 1922, and to continue sending same monthly. Please

note that he does not want you to send NUMBER 2 unless it is non-political.

Name of periodicals.

1. VASANT.
2. SAMALOCHAK.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Y. C. Prison.

Through I. G. Prisons for approval if deemed fit.

No. 78-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 17th November 1922.

From

G. Wiles, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
*Subject.*—Supply of books to prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to your Memorandum No. 1404, dated the 10th November 1922, forwarding for orders a copy of letter No. 11654, dated the 8th November 1922, from the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison on the subject of the supply of two periodicals '*Vasant*' and '*Samalochak*' to prisoner M. K. Gandhi I am directed to state that the application for these periodicals should be disposed of in accordance with the recent orders accompanying Government letter No. 1567-D (Confl.), dated the 11th September 1922.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) .....,  
for Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

No. 18649 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 21st November 1922.

Forwarded to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison for information.

Government letter No. 1567-D (Confl.), dated 11th September 1922 was forwarded to him under this office Confl., No. 1119, dated 14th September 1922.

His letter No. 11654, dated 8th November 1922, is returned herewith in original. Please obtain a sample copy of the periodicals and send them to this office.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
M.B.  
Lt.-Colonel I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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No. 12558 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 8th December 1922.

Returned with compliments.

Herewith the nine copies of each magazine ' *Vasant*' and ' *Samalochak*' are sent for favour of perusal and necessary orders.

All these have been received here for Mr. Gandhi.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prisons.

\_\_\_\_\_

No. 20974 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 29th December 1922.

Superintendent,

I do not sanction the two periodicals referred to herein.

Nine copies of each are herewith returned.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
M.B. Lt-Colonel I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

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No. 160 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 4th January 1923.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yerwada Central Prison.

No. 244 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 8th January 1923.

From

Major S. W. Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The I. G. of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter from M. K. Gandhi for favour of orders. In this connection please see your confdl. 160, dated 4th January 1923.

I have etc.  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

\_\_\_\_\_  
The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Gaol.

Sir,

You have been good enough to tell me that the Inspector General has, without giving reasons, refused to sanction the use by me of two Gujarathi monthlies namely *Vasant* and *Samalochak*.

In view of the orders of the Government about the use of periodicals by prisoners the foregoing decision is a surprise to me. The Government orders as I have understood them, are that prisoners may have periodicals which do not contain current political news. I am not very conversant with the *Samalochak* but I am with the *Vasant*. It is the standard literary Gujarathi monthly edited by Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai well known as a Social reformer and contributed to mainly by those who are in some way or other connected with the Government. I have not known it to treat political questions as such nor have I ever known it to contain political news. But it may be that the Inspector General has other reasons for disallowing the periodicals or that both the *Vasant* and the *Samalochak* have now become political magazines. Will you therefore kindly ascertain from the Inspector General the reasons for his decision. I may add that if the decision is not altered it will deprive me of the opportunity of keeping myself in touch with the current Gujarathi literature.

I remain,  
Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.  
No. 827.

Yeroda, 4th January 1923.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 19 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 10th January 1923

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

Please see H.D. No. 78-D, dated 17th November 1922.

After inspecting 9 copies of each magazine, I refused to sanction them. I consider them to be doubtful in fact one of the magazines was not even doubtful in my opinion.

There are many wholesome magazines such as *Chambers* from which M. K. Gandhi can choose.

I think that any magazine allowed to M. K. Gandhi should be like Caesar's wife.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag: Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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No. 940 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 27th January 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison,

To

The Inspector General of Prisons, Poona.

Sir,

I forward herewith for orders please a periodical received today.

In this connection please note that former numbers were disallowed under your confidential No. 20974, dated 29th December 1922.

Will you kindly say how I am to dispose of this. Namely whether I should keep it or return to sender with the remark it has been disallowed. Please also say, whether I am to return the previously received copies.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant.  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.



**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 177 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 31st January 1923.

Superintendent, I cannot sanction the periodical referred to above.  
It is kept in this office with other periodicals.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
M.B., Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prison, Bombay Presidency.

Please return.

No. 1213 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 5th February 1923.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 78-493-D.

HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Bombay Castle, 3rd February 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department,

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.  
*Subject.*—Supply of books to prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 19, dated the 10th January 1923, I am directed to request that the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, may be asked to inform prisoner M. K. Gandhi that the request made by him in his letter dated the 4th January 1923 for the supply to him of the two periodicals "*Vasant*" and "*Samalochak*" cannot be granted. The prisoner's letter under reference is herewith returned.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) .....

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 209 of 1923.  
 Inspector-General Of Prisons' Office:  
 Poona, 6th February 1923.

MEMORANDUM.

Regarding M.K. Gandhi's letter to you dated 4th January 1923, please inform the prisoner that his request regarding "*Vasant*" and "*Samalochak*" cannot be granted.

2. The prisoner's letter is returned.

(Sd.) R.M. Dalziel,  
 Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
 Ag. Inspector General of Prisons,  
 Bombay Presidency.

To

The Superintendent, Yervada Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1892 of 1923.  
 Central Prison Office,  
 Yeravda, 19/20th February 1923.

From

Major, S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,  
 Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
 Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith copies of all correspondence with reference to the subject of *Samalochak* and *Vasant*.

Will you please now say if I am to further communicate with the Manager of the Ashram in order to prevent copies being sent in future.

I have the honour to be,  
 Sir,  
 Your most obedient servant.  
 (Sd.) S.W. Jones,  
 Major, I.M.S.,  
 Superintendent, Y.C. Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 349 of 1923.  
 Inspector-General Of Prisons' Office:  
 Poona, 22nd February 1923.

MEMORANDUM.

Regarding your confidential No. dated 19/20th February 1923 I do not know why you sent your No. 12159, dated 27/28th November

1922 to Manager, Satyagraha Ashram but as you have done so you should ask the Manager to discontinue sending the periodicals.

The correspondence is returned herewith

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 12159 of 1922  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda. 27/28th November 1922.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Manager,  
Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

I have been requested by Mr. M. K. Gandhi to ask you if you would kindly send him the two below mentioned periodicals commencing from January 1922, and to continue sending same monthly. Please note that he does not want you to send number 2 unless it is non-political.

Name of periodicals.

1. Vasant.
2. Samalochak.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

You have kindly informed me that in reply to my letter of the 4th ultimo, the Inspector General says that the use of the two periodicals *Vasant* and *Samalochak* cannot be granted. I beg to state that I knew that decision before writing the letter in question. If the Inspector General will please have the letter read to him again, he will notice that I knew the decision and he will further notice that what I have sought in my letter is the reason for his refusal. I have ventured to ask in my letter whether the use of the periodicals

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was refused on the ground that they contained current political news or whether the decision was based on any other ground, I venture to repeat my request and hope to be favoured with an early reply.

Yeravda Central Prison.  
23rd February 1923.

I remain,  
Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.  
No. 827.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Forwarded with compliments, to the Inspector-General of Prisons Poona.

No. 2329 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 7th March 1923.  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay. Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

2. I do not think this prisoner should be encouraged to argue. In my opinion he is now impertinent.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag. :Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, CLE., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
*Subject.*—Supply of books to prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 449, dated the 9th March 1923, I am directed to return herewith the letter dated 5th March

No. 78-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Bombay Castle, 11th April 1923.

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1923 from prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and to request that you will be so good as to ask the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison to inform the prisoner that he regrets that the decision as regards the '*Samalochak*' and '*Vasant*' cannot be reconsidered and to state that the question was referred for the orders of Government.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Yours most obedient servant,  
(Sd.),  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

\_\_\_\_\_  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

You have kindly informed me that the Inspector-General has replied to my letter of the 23rd ultimo saying that the decision about *Vasant* and *Samalochak* has been given by a competent authority and that I was to be referred to the last paragraph to the Government's letter regarding my inquiry about certain applications for interviews with me.

I beg to tender my congratulations to the Inspector-General for the promptness of his reply but greatly deplore the position adopted by him.

The Inspector-General's competency to decide as to the periodicals was never questioned by me. The paragraph of the Government's letter referred to by him does not help me in the least. It says that you may not discuss with prisoners the prison regulations in general. I have asked the Inspector-General to do no such thing with me. I have merely asked for the reasons for his decision. I may remind him that when he was Superintendent and applied on my behalf for the *Modern Review*, the Government gave reasons for their refusal. I venture to suggest that the present case in no way differs from the previous.

Moreover the Inspector-General knows from his conversations with me that I regard these refusals to let me have the use of periodicals as a punishment in addition to that awarded by the convicting judge. I feel sure that in every case a person is entitled to reasons for punishments inflicted upon him by competent authorities.

I venture to suggest to the Inspector-General that he cannot take up the lofty attitude of indifference towards a prisoner that the Government may permit itself to take. Whilst he was Superintendent he taught me to think that a Superintendent of a prison although he undoubtedly carried out the discipline of a prison, his

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appointment required him equally to protect the rights such as they were of prisoners. He led me to think that a Superintendent of a prison was in fact a guardian of the prisoners under his charge. If this is true, the Inspector-General is I take it the super guardian of prisoners who therefore expect him to put their just claims even before the Government when it happens to overlook or disregard them. A prisoner also expects him not to evade his just inquiries but to satisfy him in every possible and reasonable way.

I am sorry for carrying on this correspondence. But rightly or wrongly I believe that even as a prisoner I have certain rights e.g. the right to have pure air, water, food and clothing. Similarly I have the right to have such mental nourishment given to me as I am used to. I asked for no favours and if the Inspector-General thinks that any single thing of convenience has been given to me as a favour, let it be withdrawn. But this matter of receiving periodicals I consider as important a right as that of receiving suitable food. I do therefore respectfully ask the Inspector-General not to treat my application for reasons for his decision with the indifference that his letters have unfortunately hitherto betrayed.

I remain,  
Sir,  
Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI,  
No. 827.

Yeravda C. Prison.  
5th March 1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 607 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE :  
Poona, 14th April 1923.

MEMORANDUM.

Regarding M. K. Gandhi's letter dated 5th March 1923, which I return to you, please inform M. K. Gandhi that you regret that the decision as regards the "*Samalochak*" and "*Vasant*" cannot be reconsidered and that the question was referred for the orders of Government.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

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**A. V. Thakkar permission refused.**

Dated, 30th March 1922.

From

A. V. Thakkar Esq.,  
Member, Servants of India Society, Poona.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Jail, Yeravda, Poona.

Sir,

I have been deputed by Mrs. Gandhi, the wife of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, now in Jail under your charge, and by Mr. Devadas Gandhi, his son, and some friends, to enquire if (1) they can be allowed to meet Mr. Gandhi, and (2) if Mahatma Gandhi will like to see them. If they can be, how many persons at a time and at what intervals. I have come in person to talk with you about these matters.

Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) A. V. THAKKAR.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Letter No. 8 d. *Confl.*, dated 15th March 1922 from the Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay, to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

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" The attention of the Government of Bombay has been called to a statement appearing in the Press\* purporting to be a message to the public sent by Mr. M. K. Gandhi through a writer who interviewed him in Jail. The conditions under which interviews with under-trial prisoners are permitted are detailed in Rule 995 of the Bombay Jail Manual Volume I. Such interviews, except for the purposes of consulting counsel regarding the prisoner's defence, or of arranging with friends for the management of property, are left entirely to the discretion of the Superintendent. They should not be allowed for the purposes of discussing political matters or issuing messages to the public, and before granting them the Superintendent should obtain an undertaking that this condition will be observed."

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

*Extract from H.D. (Political) No. S.D. 845, dated 20th March 1922 addressed to the Commissioner, Northern Division.*

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"That Government desire that permission to interview prisoners, with the object of discussing political matters with them, should not be accorded without a previous reference to Government."

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\*Bombay Chronicle, March 13, 1922 entitled Mahatma's message to Bombay.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**No. Confdl., of 1922.

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INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 22nd March 1922.

To

The Superintendents of Prisons and Gangs.  
Copy forwarded for information and guidance.(Sd.) .....,  
M.B., C.M., D.P.H.  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Bombay Presidency.**CONFIDENTIAL.**

Letter No. 8/D, dated 27th March 1922 from the Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay, to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona, re : interviews with prisoners.

" With reference to your memoranda Nos. 62 and 71, dated the 9th and 11th March 1922, on the subject of interviews with prisoners, I am directed to state that Government propose to adopt the model rules on this subject printed as an annexure to Chapter XI of the Indian Jails Committee's Report in substitution for those contained in Chapter XXXII of the Bombay Jail Manual with the following modifications in the former:—

Add to rule IV.—" The number of persons permitted to be present at an interview shall ordinarily not exceed two but may be extended to five in the case of near relatives of the prisoners. "

Add to rule VIII.—' Conversation at the interview shall not be permitted in any language not readily understood by the jail officer present'.

Formal orders giving effect to these rules will be issued separately.

If you consider that any further additions or modification are desirable, with special reference to the circumstances of this Presidency, I am to request you to communicate them without delay.

2. In the case of the prisoners confined under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code or for offences under sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code, and cognate sections of the Criminal law, rule XVI of the model rules should strictly be enforced to prevent interviews with persons who are not the near relatives or intimate personal friends of the prisoners, and to prevent all interviews with any one-soever apparently or reasonably suspected to be for political purposes. These orders apply particularly to Messrs. Gandhi and Banker, the Ali Brothers and the other persons



convicted at the same time as the last named. The Superintendents of Prisons should, when in doubt, refuse interviews pending reference to you and you should if you are yourself in doubt, refer such cases to Government. In the event of any infringement of the above rules by the publication of propagandist messages, the privilege of interviews is liable to be suspended, and the prisoners and visitors should be warned to this effect. The jail officer present at interviews with this class of prisoners should be the superintendent of the Prisons. I am to request that you will be so good as to issue these instructions, and see that they are strictly followed."

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. Confdl. of 1922.

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INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 30th March 1922.

To,

The Superintendents of Prisons, Jails and Gangs.  
Copy forwarded for information and guidance.

(Sd.) ,  
M.B., CM., D.P.H.,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 3158 of 1922.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 17th April 1922.

From,

Lt-Col. R. M. Dalziel, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To,

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In forwarding the enclosed request for an interview with No. 8676 S. G. Banker for orders, I have the honour to state that the prisoner had an interview on 31st March 1922, with Miss Anasuya Sarabhai where business and private matters were discussed.

I informed both applicants regarding what would be the result if anything about the interview were published in the newspapers. They understood, but I understand that they will publish. They will not commit themselves further than to say that they understand that if they publish it, it will be at their peril. This was the expression used by Mr. A. V. Thakkar.

I consider that the tone and attitude of Mr. A. V. Thakkar are such that I am justified in suspecting that he is one of those who desire interviews for political purposes, vide para. 2 of confidential letter No. 8/D, dated 27th March 1922, Home Department.

I shall certainly not give this gentleman any interview unless ordered to do so. I think he desires to get as much " Copy " as he can get hold of. It was he who came as the agent of Mrs. Gandhi and he himself was very anxious to be one of those who had an interview with M. K. Gandhi and it is really he who is anxious to see S. L. Banker.

With regard to Mr. Dhirajlal Banker, brother of prisoner considering that S. L. Banker has had an interview and as the prisoner has not expressed any desire to see his brother or any one else and as I reassured Mr. Dhirajlal Banker regarding the health and comfort of his brother, I think the interview should be refused to him also.

However I think that Mr. Dhirajlal Banker may be informed that if he has any bona fide business to transact with S. L. Banker he may address the Superintendent who will ascertain the desires of the prisoner on the said business and inform Mr. Dhirajlal accordingly.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 421 of 1922.  
Prisons Office.  
Poona, 20th April 1922.

Superintendent.

2. In this connection please see Rule 831 B. J. M. and also this office Cir., No. Confdl. 187, dated 30th March 1922.

3. Re. Thakkar, I think prisoner Banker is not entitled to an interview. If so, the date on which he will be entitled may be communicated to his brother Dhirajlal.

4. I would not be inclined to extra interviews except for genuine business. Ask what business if urgent and etc.

(Sd.) .....  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.  
I. G. Prisons, Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 4248 of 1922.  
Central Prison Office,  
North Yeravda, 15th May 1922.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Poona, 13th April 1922.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Poona.

Sir,

We the undersigned wish to see Prisoner Mr. S. G. Banker who has been sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment at Ahmedabad on 18th March 1922 on domestic and business affairs. The first signatory is the brother and the second a friend of the Prisoner. We hope you will grant us the necessary interview.

Yours obediently,

1. Dhirajlal Banker.
2. A. V. Thakkar.

No. 3211 of 1922.  
Central Prison Office.  
Yeravda, 19th April 1922.

Forwarded with compliments, to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona for favour of orders. M, K. Gandhi had an interview with his son and Mr. Rajagopala-chariar on 1st April 1922, and is therefore not entitled to another interview till 1st July 1922.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Y. C. Prison.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM, SAHARMATI,  
Ahmedabad, 17th April 1922.

I will feel obliged if you will kindly let me know if I can see my husband, Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the 25th instant.

Faithfully yours,  
(Sd.) KASTURBAI GANDHI.

To

The Superintendent, Yeravada Jail.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78-4483-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 5th May 1922.

From

G. Wiles, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.  
*Subject.*—Interview with prisoner Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 431-Confidential, dated the 21st April 1922, on the subject, I am directed to state that an interview should be allowed only once in three months according to the rules. The accompaniment to your memorandum is returned herewith.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) .....,  
for Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison with reference to his letter No. 3211 dated the 19th April 1922 to the Inspector General of Prisons.

*Accompaniment.*—Letter from Mrs. Gandhi to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON.  
15th June 1922.

From

Lieut. Col. R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to say that Prisoners S. L. G. Banker and M. K. Gandhi are entitled to interviews on 30th June 1922 and 1st July 1922 respectively.

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Please inform me regarding the persons with whom these prisoners may have an interview.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lieut. Col. M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

\_\_\_\_\_  
SATYAGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati, 19th June 1922.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona

Dear Sir,

Mrs. Gandhi understands from a letter of the Inspector General of Prisons, Poona, that she will be able to see her husband after 1st July. Will you kindly inform her exact date and time when she will be permitted to pay the visit ?

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) CHHAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**CONFIDENTIAL.**

779 of 1922.  
19th June 1922.

From

Inspector General of Prison's Office,

To

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Prisoner Banker should be allowed an interview with Miss Anusayabai and his brother in company with Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas on that day. As mentioned in D/O given you yesterday. Prisoner Gandhi should be allowed an interview with his wife only as no one else has applied.

(Sd.) .....,  
M.B.C.M.D.P.H., Lieut-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Original copy returned under No. 5753 of 1922 with Superintendent's Compliments.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**  
**MEMORANDUM.**

No. 933 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE,  
Poona, 28th July 1922.

Please see that in future Maganlal K. Gandhi and Mathurdas are not permitted to have any interview with prisoners M. K. Gandhi or any other prisoner.

The two above mentioned persons were among those who had an interview with M. K. Gandhi on 1st July 1922.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col., I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 8-8112-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 14th August 1922.

From

J. Crerar, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 932, dated the 27th July 1922, I am directed to invite your attention to the terms of Rule VIII contained in Government Resolution, Home Department, No. 2256, dated the 28th July 1922 and to its proper application. The object of the rule is to provide for the control over interviews necessary to ensure against their being abused. It should not be applied to withhold reasonable facilities for conversation in a vernacular when one or other of the parties to the interview has no knowledge of English. In the case of a vernacular in such common use as Urdu, the jail officer should have no difficulty in maintaining adequate control over the conversation if necessary with assistance. Superintendents should endeavour to arrange for interview to be carried on in the language desired by the parties concerned. It is only when no arrangements are feasible for regulating owing to the vernacular being one not in common use and for which no reliable interpreter can be

found that the interview should be required to be in English or, if the parties do not agree to this disallowed.

2. Applications for interviews should in all cases be made direct by the persons desiring an interview.

I have etc.  
(Sd.) J. CRERAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1029 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE:  
Poona, 30th August 1922.

To

The Superintendents of Prisons, Jails and Gangs,  
Copy forwarded for information and guidance.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col., I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

No. 12219 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 29th and 30th November 1922.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To

Chhaganlal K. Gandhi, Esquire,  
Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter dated 25th instant, I have to inform you that except in the case of near relatives the number of persons allowed to one interview with a prisoner is 2.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

To

Superintendent,  
Central Prison, Yeravda.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati, 25th November 1922.

Sir

Mrs. Gandhi desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

No. 11948, dated the 18th inst. and to thank you for supplying the information contained in it.

She also desires me to inform you that she will be able to avail of the opportunity after the 15th December, and that she is anxious to have Messrs. C. Rajagopalachar, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das to accompany her. She will let you know the exact date prior to the departure.

Yours truly,  
CHHAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS.  
*EXPRESS.*

Name  
Superintendent.  
Address  
Jail.  
Telegraph Office  
Poona-Yeravda.  
Reply paid Rs. 1-8-0.

Agreeably your letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, Hakim Ajmal Khan and self arriving Poona thirteenth night to interview Mahatma Gandhi fourteenth morning kindly wire if interview will be granted.

From Motilal Nehru.

Address of Sender: Anand Bhawan, Allahabad,  
8th December 1922.

POSTS TELEGRAPHS.

Salem  
To

Mahatma Gandhi Care Yeroda Jail, Poona.  
Hakimji Motilalji seeing you Thursday myself not joining because only two permissible.

Rajagopalachar.  
12th December 1922.

**SECRET.**

D.O. No. S.B. 2286 of 1922.  
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE,  
CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT,  
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA.  
Poona, December 11th, 1922.

My dear Whitworth-Jones,

I enclose a copy of a telegram just received in cypher from Government, which I am passing on to you as requested. I presume that Government wish your telegram in reply also to be sent in



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cypher. Will you, therefore, please send me your reply telegram when I will encypher it and despatch it to Government ?

I presume you have not got the Foreign Office Cypher and that that is why Government have telegraphed to me, using that code.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) .....

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

*Telegram dated Bombay, 11th December, 1922, to Crimbo, Poona.*

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Following for the Superintendent, Yeravda Jail, Begins:—

"It is stated in press to-day that interviews with Gandhi will be granted on 18th instant, and that Ajmal Khan, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das will visit him. Please telegraph correct facts. Interview should not be granted with this prisoner without previous reference to Government." Ends.

Bombay Special.

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*Copy of a telegram to the Deputy Inspector General of Police,*

*Criminal Investigation Department, Poona, No. S. D. 3287, dated the 11th December 1922.*

Please communicate following to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Prison.

"Reported in Press this morning that Ajmal Khan, C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru will visit Gandhi with whom interview will be granted on the 18th of this month. Correct facts should please be telegraphed. No interviews should be allowed with this prisoner without a previous reference to Government"

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**STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL AND DEMI-OFFICIAL.**

No. S.D.3288.  
HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Bombay, 11th December 1922.

Copy forwarded, in confirmation, to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

2. Copy forwarded to the Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

(Sd.).....,  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Political).

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*Copy of a confidential telegram from the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated the 11th December 1922.*

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In reply to your telegram of date, following is from Superintendent of Yeravda Prison.

Permission has been granted for interview with Gandhi to Mrs. Gandhi, Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ajmal Khan and Motilal Nehru, last two on precedent of 1st April 1922. Rajagopalachariar Whose status is the same. In accordance with the instructions of the Inspector-General of Prisons, dated the 28th July 1922, permission has been refused to Maganlal Gandhi.

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To

Home Secretary,  
Government of Bombay.

Permission for interview to be held 14th granted to Mrs. Gandhi, Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ajmal Khan, Motilal Nehru.

Last two on precedent of Interview of 1st April 1922 with Rajagopalachariar, whose status is the same. Maganlal Gandhi refused as per instructions dated the 28th July 1922 from Inspector-General, Prisons.

(Sd.).....,

Telegram to H.D.  
Government of Bombay.  
En Cyphered by C. I. D. 11/12/22.

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**SECRET.**

D.O. No. S.B. 2299 of 1922.  
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF POLICE,  
CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT,  
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, POONA.  
Poona, December 13th, 1922.

My dear Whitworth-Jones,

Please refer to your D.O. of the 11th instant. I sent your telegram to Crerar in cypher the same evening, and received a cypher telegram back in reply yesterday evening after dinner. I sent you over the decyphered telegram last night for perusal, and now enclose a fair copy for your record.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.).....

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

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*Cypher telegram 78, dated Bombay, 12th December, 1922,  
from Bombay Home, to Crimbo.*

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Following for Superintendent, Yeravda, Begins: —

" Your procedure is in contravention of orders contained in paragraph No. 2 of Government Circular Letter eight D. March 27th last to Inspector-General of Prisons which have presumably (been) communicated (a) to you and should be explained. Interview may be granted to Mrs. Gandhi and Chaganlal Gandhi in strict accordance with rules contained in Government Resolution No. 2256 of July 28th last. Interview with Ajmal Khan and Motilal Nehru should be refused. In future as ordered in my telegram of December 11th, S.D. 3287, no interview with this prisoner should be granted without previous reference to Government." Ends.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 13th December 1922.

Copy forwarded, in confirmation, to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

2. Copy with a copy of the telegram dated the 11th December 1922 from the Deputy Inspector General of Police, C. I. D., Poona, forwarded to the Inspector General of Prisons, Poona, in continuation of endorsement No. S.D. 3288, dated the 11th December 1922.

By order of the Governor in Council,  
(Sd.) .....  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 12720 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 14th December 1922.

From

Major S. Wattworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

I have the honour to enclose for your information a communication received 11th December 1922 together with my reply thereto, which

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I sent through the C. I. D., also a second communication received last night and my explanation for transmission to Government.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 12721 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 14th December 1922.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
*Through.*—The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In accordance with instructions received from Government, I send my explanation of the permission for an interview with Gandhi granted by me to Motilal Nehru and Ajmal Khan.

When these persons applied for an interview I asked Gandhi if they were friends of his, and received the reply that they were very great personal friends indeed. I then asked him in the event of an interview being granted would he undertake to mention nothing of any political significance.

His answer was in the affirmative and there was an undertaking that the conversation would have no political flavour. Taking into consideration also the fact that an interview had on a former occasion namely 1st April 1922 been granted to Rajagopalachariar, whose status very much the same as that of Motilal Nehru and Ajmal Khan.

I gave the permission asked for. It did not appear to me that I was contravening the terms of No. 2 Government Circular letter 8-D, dated 27th March 1922, because this letter does not debar intimate friends from interviews and I had no suspicion on the interview would have been used for political purposes, as no political subject would have been touched upon.

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Immediately on receipt of the first telegram I wired to Motilal Nehru and Ajmal Khan, "I had no authority to grant interview, do not come".

Instructions regarding future interviews have been noted.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

YERODA CENTRAL GAOL.  
21st December 1922.

Sir,

You were good enough to tell me that of those who had recently applied for permission to see me, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakimji Ajamal Khan and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi were refused permission to interview me.

Mr. Maganlal Gandhi is a very near relative of mine, holds my power of attorney and is in charge of my agricultural and hand weaving and hand spinning experiments and is in close touch with my work among the depressed classes.

Panditji and Hakimji are besides being political co-workers, personal friends interested in my well being.

I shall be obliged if you will kindly ascertain from the Government the reason for the refusal to Panditji, Hakimji and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi. I observe that under the prison regulations governing interviews with prisoner all the three gentlemen named above appear to be eligible as visitors to their prisoner friends.

I would like, too, to know, if I may, what the government wishes are regarding interviews with me—whom I may and may not see and whether I may talk to and receive information from, the permitted visitors on non-political topics or activities with which I am connected.

I am,  
Sir,  
Yours obediently,  
M. K. GANDHI.  
No. 827.

The Superintendent,  
Yeroda Central Gaol.

No. 12981 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
North Yeravda, 22nd December 1922.

To.

Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Forwarded for information and transmission to Government if you deem fit.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

22nd December 1922.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 53 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 2nd January 1923.

FROM

Major S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward a letter received here after my departure on 10 days leave on the 23rd December 1922. Will you please say whether I am to state that Government forbade the interview.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 78-186-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
Secretariat, Fort, Bombay,  
18th January 1923.

From

S. J. Murphy, Esquire,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the letter dated the 20th December 1922, addressed to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central

Prison, by Chhaganlal K. Gandhi, which was received with your Memorandum No. 9, dated the 5th January 1923, and to state that Government consider that the writer has no claim to enquire on behalf of Messrs. Ajmalkhan and Pandit Nehru and that no reply to his letter is necessary.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) D. O'FLYNN  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 97 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE.  
Poona, 24th January 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy together with the accompaniment forwarded for information, with reference to his confidential letter No. 53, dated 2nd January 1923.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 9 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 5th January 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
Forwarded with compliments for favour if necessary orders.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM, SABARMATI,  
21st December 1922.

To

The Superintendent,  
Central Prison, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

As you have been already informed last week we were to go to Poona to have an interview with Mahatmaji on the 16th December but we have postponed the same.



Mrs. Gandhi will be obliged if she is informed of the reasons why the permission granted to Messrs. Hakim Ajmal Khan and Pandit Motilal Nehru was withdrawn.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) CHHAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 928 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 26th January 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

The following relations of M. K. Gandhi visited me this morning and asked for an interview with him. Mrs. Gandhi, Maganlal Gandhi, Chhaganlal Gandhi's son and two others (female relations.)

I told them that applications for interview with Gandhi had to go to higher authority for sanction.

They asked then if they might see him only as they had disturbing news about his health. I replied that I regretted I could not accede to their request and assured them that Gandhi was and is in excellent health. They then said they had come far to see Gandhi and would I telephone for permission to only see him. I accordingly communicated with you and in accordance with your instructions again gave them a reply in the negative.

They then asked me to send a telegram to H. E. the Governor. This I refused to do and referred them to you.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Telegram ..... State.

Name.....Jail.

Address ..... Yeravda.

78-336-603-D Your numbers 239 and 388, dated 8th and 12th January respectively.  
Permission granted to Mrs. Gandhi, Messrs. Chhaganlal K. Gandhi, Abhechand Amritlal Gandhi and

---

Mrs. Vasumatiben, widow of Dhimatram Navalram to visit prisoner Gandhi Addressed Jail Yeravda, repeated Prisons Poona.

Bombay Home.  
D. O'Flynn,  
Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.  
26th January 1923.

Copy by post.

*True copy.*

(Sd.) .....

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 936 of 1923.  
Central Prison Office :  
Yeravda, 27th January 1923.

From,

Major S. W. Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that I to-day received a telegram from the Home Department of the Government of Bombay giving permission for an interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi to Mrs. Gandhi, Chaganlal K. Gandhi, Abhechand Amritlal Gandhi and Mrs. Vasumatiben.

The purport of this telegram was explained by me to Mrs. Gandhi through Maganlal Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi decided to have the interview this noon, with her was Mrs. Vasumatiben, but neither Chaganlal nor Abhechand were available. The former being ill and the latter in Bombay.

I have etc.,

(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78-56-D.

HOME DEPARTMENT:

Bombay Castle, 29th January 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 6, dated the 3rd January 1923, I am directed to say that the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, should inform prisoner M. K. Gandhi in reply to his letter dated the 21st December 1922 that the Superintendent of the jail is reserved a discretion under the prison regulations for granting interviews to visitors with prisoners. The prisoner's letter under reference is herewith returned.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) .....

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 153 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 30th January 1923.

MEMORANDUM.

Regarding your endorsement No. 12981, dated the 22nd December 1922, please inform prisoner M. K. Gandhi that there is for the Superintendent of the jail reserved a discretion under the prison regulations for granting interviews to visitors with prisoners.

The prisoner's letter is returned.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt-Col. I.M.S.,

Ag : Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

---

SATYAGRAHASHRAM, SABARMATI,  
1st February 1923.

To

The Home Secretary,  
to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay,  
Bombay.

Dear Sir,

Whilst thanking the Government for the promptness with which her request for the interview with Mahatma Gandhi was met with, Mrs. Gandhi wants to inquire about certain matters in connection with the interview which she is unable to comprehend.

On the 25th morning when she went to the Yeravda jail to have the interview which was applied for about a month ago and was again inquired about a fortnight ago by a wire, she was informed by the Superintendent that the permission was not received from the Government yet and that he had no power in the matter; whereupon I requested the Superintendent to inquire of the Inspector General of Prisons by telephone and obtain permission for five of us who were present there. The Superintendent agreed to do so and asked the names of the persons and also whether their names were mentioned in the application already made. I told him that as Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi and Mr. Abhechand Gandhi were unable to come on account of illness, Master Prabhudas Gandhi the son of Chhaganlal Gandhi and Miss Radha Gandhi had come in place of the two absentees. I requested the Superintendent to ask permission for the following persons:—Mrs. Gandhi, Vasumatiben the widow of Dhimatram, Master Prabhudas Gandhi, Miss Radha Gandhi and myself.

3. The Superintendent telephoned and received a reply in the negative.

4. Mrs. Gandhi and myself saw the Inspector-General in the afternoon at his office and were told that he had written already to the Bombay Government for permission.

5. On the 27th morning an inquiry from me the Superintendent informed that the permission of the interview was permitted to Mrs. Gandhi and Vasumatiben only.

6. Mrs. Gandhi would like to know why Master Prabhudas and Miss Radha who were brought by her and reported to the Superintendent as substitutes for the absentees were not granted permission.

7. She also does not yet know why precisely the interview granted to Pandit Nehruji and Ajmal Khanji was cancelled. The Superintendent's reply that he had no authority to grant the interview does not explain whether the Superintendent's power to grant interview was restricted in this particular instance and if so, why? She would also like to know the proper procedure to be followed in

case these or other friends who are not relatives should desire to accompany her for interviewing Mahatma Gandhi.

8. I shall be glad to know also why I was refused permission for interview.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully,  
MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

*True copy.*

(Sd.) .....,  
Superintendent.

The Superintendent,  
Yeroda Central Prison.

Sir,

You were good enough to tell me yesterday that the Inspector-General had replied to my letter of the 20th December last to the effect that you had full discretion regarding interviews by relatives and friends with me in terms of the prison regulations governing such interviews.

This reply has come upon me as a surprise and is at variance with the information given me by my wife who together with Mrs. Vasumati Dhimatram was permitted to see me on the 27th ultimo. My wife told me that she had to wait for over twenty days before receiving reply to her application for interview. On hearing rumours of my illness she came to Poona in the hope of being able to see me. Consequently early last week accompanied by Mrs. Vasumati Dhimatram, Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, Radha his daughter, about fourteen years old and Parbhudas a lad about eighteen years old Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi's son, who had come in the place of his father who was ailing and who was one of the applicants. My wife applied at the Prison gate for admission. You told the party that you could not admit them as you had no authority to grant the permission and that you were awaiting reply from the Government to whom the original application was sent by you. On Mr. Maganlal Gandhi pressing you undertook to telephone to the Inspector-General who too, it seems, could not sanction the proposed interview and my wife and party had to go away disappointed.

On the 27th ultimo, my wife told me, you telephoned to her saying you had heard from the Government that she and three others who were named in her original application could not see me. This therefore excluded the youngsters Radha and Prabhudas.

If you had the discretion retained to you, the whole of the circumstances narrated above need revision. I feel sure that I have not misunderstood my wife. Moreover if your discretion

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had been retained, Radha and Prabhudas could not have been excluded.

I shall therefore be obliged if you will kindly enlighten me on the discrepancy between the government reply and my wife's version and inform me further:—

(1) On what grounds Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakimji Ajmal Khan and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi were excluded last December.

(2) Who will and who will not be allowed to see me in future, and

(3) Whether at these interviews I may receive information on non-political activities initiated by me and now being conducted by my representatives. Though I will not permit myself to believe that any humiliation was intended. I venture to think that the treatment received by my wife and party was in fact humiliating. I should not like a repetition of the unfortunate occurrence.

I remain,  
Yours obediently,  
M. K. GANDHI.

Yeravda Central Prison,  
4th February 1923.

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No. 1214 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE.  
Yeravda, 5th February 1923.

From.  
Major S. Whitworth Jones O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To,  
The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to forward herewith letter from prisoner M. K. Gandhi, this has reference to your confidential No. 153, dated 30th January 1923.

I have etc.  
(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 208 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 6th February 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
Forwarded with compliments.

2. I do not think that this prisoner should question the decisions of Government. I think M. K. Gandhi should be told that he must abide by the decisions of the jail authorities in these matters.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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No. 78-1723-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Bombay Castle, 20th February 1923.

From,

A. Montgomerie, Esq., CLE., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 208, dated the 6th February 1923, forwarding for orders a letter of 4th February 1923, from prisoner M. K. Gandhi addressed to the Superintendent, Yeravda Prison, I am directed to request that Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison may be asked to express regret at the delay in issuing orders as to the particular interview in question and any inconvenience caused to Mrs. Gandhi and her party and also to state that steps have been taken to prevent any recurrence. I am further to request that the Superintendent should be instructed to take particular pains to see that no such delay occurs in future and if necessary to obtain orders by telegram. In respect to the rest of the letter of prisoner M. K. Gandhi, the Superintendent should inform him that it would not be proper for him to discuss generally with him the regulations of the prison.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) D. O'FLYNN.  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 344 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 21st February 1923.

To,

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copies forwarded for information, guidance and necessary action.

2. The original letter is returned herewith.

Please acknowledge.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL.  
Lt-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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No. 1939 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, YERAVDA:  
21st February 1923.

From,

Major S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In reply to your No. 2595 dated 19th February 1923 :—

- (a) No one has applied to the Jailor.
- (b) The Superintendent has received application from and has granted interviews to :—
  - (1) Devdas Gandhi.
  - (2) Rajagopalachari.
  - (3) Mrs. Gandhi.
  - (4) Ramdas Gandhi.
  - (5) Harilal Gandhi.



- (6) Maganlal Gandhi.
- (7) Mathuradas Gandhi.
- (8) Manu.
- (9) Jamnalal Bajaj.
- (10) Keshavlal Masruwalla.
- (11) Mrs. Vasumathi Dhimatram.

(c) The following were refused permission:—

- |                       |   |  |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| (1) Maganlal Gandhi.  | } | Authority for refusal I. G. P's  |
| (2) Mathuradas.       | } | (933) dated 28th July 1922,  |
| (3) Hakim Ajmal Khan. | } | H. D. Telegram No. 78, dated   |
| (4) Motilal Nehru.    | } | 12th December 1922.  |
| (5) Rajagopalachari.  | } | Superintendent, Y. C. P's  |
| (6) C. R. Das.        | } | No. 12219 dated 30th Novem-<br>ber 1922.   |
| (7) Master Prabhudas. | } | These individuals were at the<br>prison Gate at Mrs. Gandhi's<br>last interview and I had no<br>authority to admit them. |
| (8) Miss Radha.       | } |  |

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 78-1516-D.  
Home Department:  
Bombay Castle, 20th February 1923.

From,  
A. Montgomerie, Esquire., C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To  
Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esquire.,  
Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 1st February 1923, and to state that Government regret the delay and inconvenience caused to Mrs. Gandhi and to request that you

will inform her that if in future she will intimate to the Superintendent of the Prison a few days before an intended visit both the names and the relation-ships of the members of the party proposed for an interview with Mr. Gandhi, steps will be taken for the avoidance of any such delay in future.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) ,.....

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy with a copy of the letter to which it is a reply forwarded to:—

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM, SABARMATI,  
24th February 1923.

To,

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Dear Sir,

With regard to your reply dated 20th instant to the enquiry regarding the interview with Mahatmaji I beg to point out that some points mentioned in my letter on which Mrs. Gandhi has specially asked for information have again been altogether overlooked. For instance with reference to the cancellation of permission of interview granted by the Superintendent, Yeravda Jail, to Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib and Pandit Motilal Nehru, she had stated that the Superintendent's reply that " he had no authority to grant the interview" did not explain whether the Superintendent's power to grant interview was restricted in this particular instance and if so why. She had further asked as to what procedure should be followed in case the above mentioned or other friends who were not relatives should desire to accompany her for interviewing Mahatmaji. She would therefore feel obliged if she can get the necessary information on these points.

Yours faithfully,

MAGANLAL K. GANDHI,  
Manager, Satyagrahashram.

*True copy.*

(Sd.) .....

Superintendent.

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No. 78-D.

HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay Castle, 5th March 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

Mr. Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esq.,  
Manager, Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th February 1923, and to say I have nothing to add to my former letter.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd.) .....

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy with a copy of the letter to which it is a reply forwarded with compliments to—  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

The Superintendent,  
Yeroda Central Prison.

Sir,

You were kind enough to tell me on the 23rd instant that you had heard from the Government in reply to my letter of the 4th instant and that the Government were sorry for the inconvenience that was caused to my wife and that with reference to the other parts of my letter you could not discuss with a prisoner the prison regulation in general.

I appreciate the expression of sorrow about the inconvenience caused to my wife.

Regarding the other part of the Government reply, I beg to state that I am well aware of the fact that as a prisoner I may not discuss the prison regulations in general. If the government will reread my letter of the 4th instant they will discover that I have not invited a general discussion of the regulations. On the contrary I have merely ventured to seek information on the particular application of certain regulation in so far only as they bear on my future conduct and welfare I presume

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that a prisoner is entitled to seek and receive such information. If I am to see my wife and friends in future I ought to know whom I may and may not see so as to avoid disappointment and even possible humiliation.

I venture to make my position clear. I have the good fortune to have numerous friends who are dear to me as relatives. I have children being brought up under me who are like my own children. I have associates living under the same roof with me and helping me in my various non-political activities and experiments. I could not without doing violence to my most cherished sentiments see my wife if I may not from time to time see these friends associates and children. I see my wife not merely because she is my wife but chiefly because she is my associate in my activities.

Nor should I have any interest in seeing those I wish to, if I may not talk to them about my non-political activities.

Again I am naturally interested in knowing why Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakimji Ajmal Khan and Mr. Maganlal Gandhi were excluded. I should understand their exclusion if they were guilty of ungentlemanly conduct or wanted to see me for any political discussion. But if they have been excluded for any unnamable political reason, the least I could do is to waive the pleasure of seeing my wife. I entertain ideas of honour and self-respect which I would like the government, if they can, to understand and appreciate.

I have no desire to hold political discussions with anybody or to send out political messages. The government may post any one they wish to be present at such interviews. Their representative may take short-hand notes if they deem it necessary. But I may be excused if I wish to guard against friends and relatives being refused permission for reasons outside the prison regulations.

I have now stated my position frankly and fully. This correspondence commenced on the 20th December last. I would respectfully urge the government to let me have an early, straight and undiplomatic reply.

I remain,  
Yours obedient,  
M. K. GANDHI.  
No. 827.

Yeroda Central Prison,  
28th February 1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 390 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 1st March 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

I think the prisoner should not be encouraged to argue. His expression " Straight and undiplomatic reply" is not courteous towards Government.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt-Col. I.M.S.,

Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 6 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 3rd January 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for information and orders.

I ordered that Maganlal K. Gandhi should have no more interviews with M. K. Gandhi or any other prisoner. Vide my confidential letter No. 933 dated 28th July 1922 to Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, copy of which I enclose.

For the reason of the above order please see "Young India" dated 20th July 1922 from which it will be seen that Maganlal K. Gandhi grossly abused his privilege.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt.-Colonel I.M.S.,

Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 208 of 1923.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE :

Poona, 6th February 1923.

To,

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments.

I do not think that this prisoner should question the decisions of Government. I think M. K. Gandhi should be told that he

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must abide by the decisions of the jail authorities in these matters.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 2152 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 28th February 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

To  
The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a publication named "*Baljivan*" recently received for prisoner M. K. Gandhi and disallowed because of certain passages marked 1, 2 and 3, translations of which are enclosed in the pamphlet. I also send a letter from the same prisoner addressed to me with the request that you issue instructions as to the form my reply should take.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1570 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 10th February 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a book and periodical addressed to M. K. Gandhi.

Also a letter to me which explains itself will you kindly say what action I am to take ?

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 509 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 28th March 1923.

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

Brief reviews of the two books as received from the Oriental Translator to Government is herewith attached.

(Sd.) R. M, DALZIEL,

Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons,

Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 299 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 15th February 1923.

From

Lt-Col. R. M. Dalziel, M.B.I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector-Genral of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To

The Oriental Translator to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith 1 Book in Gujarathi and 1 periodical in Hindi received for a prisoner confined in the Yeravda Central Prison for favour of returning the same with their translation into English as usual.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

Personal Assistant,

for Inspector-General of Prisons.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. C/38 of 1923.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE:

P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 8th March 1923.

From

Sheikh Yakub Vazir Mohamed, Esquire, M.B.E., B.A., J.P.  
Oriental Translator to Government.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to return herewith one book in Gujarati and one periodical in Hindi received with your letter No. 299, dated the 15th ultimo, together with brief reviews of the same.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

Oriental Translator to Government.

The Gujarati book entitled " Gita Nishkarsha "—Pratham Khand, or " the Essence of the Gita, Part I," is a translation into Gujarati of Mr. Arvind Ghose's Essays on the Gita which appeared in the *Arya* periodical. The author discusses the philosophy of the Gita not from any sectarian point of view but on broad principles with special attention to the spiritual needs of the present day world and the mental calibre of man. It appears that no extraneous matters not directly pertaining to the subject in hand have been brought into discussion by the original author or the translator.

The Hindi periodical is the issue of the *Vedic Dharma* (Vol IV, No. 1) for January 1923 corresponding to Paush, Samvat 1979. Its main article headed Rakshak ke Rakshas or " Protectors turned Demons " discusses the root meanings of several words used in the Vedas which have subsequently deteriorated, showing for example that the words Raksha or Rakshas though originally they meant a protector came to mean a demon as a result of the demoniac actions of those whose duty it was to protect others. The writer multiplies the examples and attributes the deterioration of meaning to human nature. He then shows by way of elaborating his meaning that though kings are for the protection of subjects they are now making the latter miserable, so much so that, as history shows, they are ultimately removed from the throne and their kingly power replaced by a republic. The last article describes the uses and benefits of Shirshansan or a position in Yog in which a man stands on his head.



No. 78/4085/D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay Castle, 6th April 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the book and periodical with a letter from Mr. A. B. Purani, which were received with your letter No. 1570, dated the 12th February 1923, to the address of the Inspector-General of Prisons, and to state that there is no objection to the Gujarati book entitled "Gita Nishkarsha,—Pratham Khand " being given over to prisoner M. K. Gandhi. The Hindi periodical " Vedic Dharma " should not however be given to the prisoner.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) ,.....

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to the Inspector-General of Prisons with reference to his memorandum No. 509, dated the 28th March 1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 380 of 1923,  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL or PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 1st March 1923.

MEMORANDUM.

Regarding your confidential No. 2152, dated the 28th February 1923, the publication was rightly withheld and will be filed here.

Regarding the prisoners letter, I shall communicate with you on the<sup>1</sup> subject later on.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt.Col. I.M.S.,

Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 78-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Bombay Castle, 31st March 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
*Subject.*—Interviews with prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 390, dated the 1st March 1923, I am directed to request that you will be so good as to ask the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison to inform prisoner M. K. Gandhi in reply to his letter dated the 28th February 1923 that a discretion is reserved by the regulations to refuse permission for an interview with any particular visitor in the public interests, but that he will be glad to submit the names of any visitors specially required by the prisoner for the orders of Government.

The prisoner's letter and the book 'Bal Jivan' are herewith returned.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

*Accompaniments*—

1. Letter dated the 28th February 1923, from prisoner M. K. Gandhi.
2. 'Bal Jivan'.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 541 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 4th April 1923.

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy forwarded for information, in continuation of this office No. 380, dated 1st March 1923.  
The prisoner's letter is returned herewith.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1727 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 15th February 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith twelve communications and seven publications all of which were addressed to Prisoner M. K. Gandhi and have been withheld on account of either objectionable contents or the prisoner being unentitled.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 479 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 20th March 1923.

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
Copy forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.  
The twelve letters and seven publications accompany.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Through,—

The Oriental Translator to Government, Bombay.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78/4199.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Bombay Castle, 12th April 1923.

From

A Montgomerie, Esquire, CIE., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the twelve communications and seven publications addressed to prisoner M. K. Gandhi, which were received with your letter No. 1727, dated the 15th February 1923, to the address of the Inspector General of Prisons, and to state that Government approve of your action in withholding them.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to the Inspector-General of Prisons, with reference to his memorandum No. 479, dated the 20th March 1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 3448 of 1923.

YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE:

Dated 11th April 1923.

From

Major, S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to attach herewith a copy of publication named 'Hindi Pracharak', which was addressed to prisoner M. K. Gandhi and which I have withheld on account of certain contained articles which appear to have an objectionable flavour.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 606.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 11th April 1923.

Superintendent,

The publication was rightly withheld.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 3640, D/16th April 1923

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona

Noted and returned with compliments with the publication attached.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.

*Page 128.*

The comparison between past and present—some days ago, there was everywhere peace and to day everyone is unsatisfied. Formerly we had men like Budh, Sukrat and Christ and today we have to deal with men like Lloyd George, Curzon, O'Dyer.

Formerly the people were enjoying the same happiness as they had enjoyed in Ramraj and today we are in hot waters.

*Page 129.*

' Babu Bhagwandas : Tells that formerly he was a follower of Annie Besant and now he has become the follower of Gandhi he has now come forward in last Congress Committee.

*Page 132.*

Gathering of the members of Hindi Pracharak held at Madras at the hands of a leader Konda Venkatappya and others.

" Education."

*Page 126.*

Tells about the education that is being given in Government Schools. Says that this kind of education is only a factory of producing clerks.

Education is that which makes a man Karmasheel.

Contents of the Hindi Pracharak objectionable.

Sir, for favour of orders.

R. M. DALZIEL,  
10/4.

No. 2602 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE :  
Yeravda, 15th March 1923.

Forwarded with compliments, to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona, with the request that the instructions be given to me as to whether or not I should hand it to the addresses.

(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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No. 488 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 23rd March 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders as to whether the letter may be delivered to the prisoner, if the prisoner is otherwise entitled to receive a letter.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Col., I.M.S,  
Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER :  
Empire Building, Hornby Road, Fort,  
Bombay, 12th March 1923.

Dear Mahatmaji,

I write to inform you that at the invitation of Mr. Jayakar and myself as President and General Secretary respectively of the Indian National Social Conference held at Gaya last December, about 200 people—both ladies and gentlemen—including Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis and Europeans and 100 members of the untouchable classes dined together at the Depressed Classes Mission Hall at Parel yesterday. Thus representatives of all the communities in India joined hands in offering to the so-called " Untouchables " their warm welcome into our common brotherhood. Among those present people of such diverse views as Sir P. C. Ray, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. V. J. Patel, as well as Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahi-patram Nilkanth, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale of Satara and Mr. G. K. Devadhar of the Servants of India Society.

I am in hopes that this letter may reach your hands as it relates entirely to a social function without any political implications whatever. The presence of five Englishmen some of whom you know, like the Rev. R. M. Gray, is especially to be noted.

I write this to you because I know that in your seclusion you will be glad to know that the removal of untouchability and inter-communal unity among all the races of India is being vigorously attempted by all classes and schools of thought.

I remain,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) Illegible.

Mahatma Gandhi,  
C/o. The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Prison; Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78/3754/D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Bombay Castle, 3rd April 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department.

To

The Superintendent.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the letter dated the 12th March 1923 from the Indian Social Reformer, addressed to M. K. Gandhi, which was received with your memorandum No. 2602, dated the 15th March 1923 to the address of the Inspector-General of Prisons, and to state that as it does not deal solely with personal and private matters it should be withheld.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded for information to the Inspector-General of Prisons with reference to his memorandum No. 488, dated the 23rd March 1923.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL.

No. 5187 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL, OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 22nd March 1923.

From

Lt-Col. R. M. Dalziel, I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

To

The Oriental Translator to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith one book in Hindi of a prisoner confined in the Yeravda Central Prison for favour of returning the same with its translation into English as usual.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....

Personal Assistant,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons.

Page 100.

One ' Satya wadi' introduces Maulana Abul Kalam Azad under the heading ' Vah Kon Hai' (Who he is).

He is a great partiotic and well Hindi Speaker. Before the Hindi Muslim league he tried to unite Hindooes and Mahomedans. He is a second man to Lalaji (Lala Lajpat Rai) in Hindi speaker.

Page 107.

Tells about another Non-co-operator ' Deshbhakta Konda Venktappyaji' recently released from Kedloor Jail.

Tells about 3rd gentleman ' Shriyut Kaka Kalelkar' he is Gujrathi he is well known under the name Kaka. He passed his B.A. in 1905, he was Editor of the newspaper ' *Rashtramat*' after leaving that he became the instructor in the Ganganath Bhartiya Guru Vidyalaya. There he passed four years. After that he spent 2/3 year in visiting religious places such as Himalaya, Almolda, Badrinath, Haridwar, etc.

After this he joined Satyagraha Ashram.

Requires to be translated.

(Signed) .....

7-3-1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. C/49 of 1923.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE :  
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 3rd April 1923.

From

Sheikh Yakub Vazir Mohamed, Esquire, M.B.E., B.A., J.P.,  
Oriental Translator to Government.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In returning issue No. 7, Vol. I, of the Hindi Pracharak magazine received with your letter No. 5187, dated 22nd instant, I have the honour to state that the magazine, as its name implies, aims at spreading the knowledge of Hindi in the Madras Presidency. The present issue contains short stories in Hindi, traces the introduction of the use of Persian in official documents in place of Hindi during the Moghul period and gives a brief life-sketch of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. In an article on " Nature " " Mother " India is made to bewail her wretched lot and Indians are exhorted to serve the country with true love and all their heart so that they may soon get *swarajya* like that enjoyed by the sun. At the end there are brief notes



welcoming " Patriot" Konda Venktappayya back from jail, and giving a brief life of D. B. Kalelkar recently sent to jail.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....  
Oriental Translator to Government.  
No. 2397 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 8th March 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to forward herewith a publication " Hindi Pracharak". It contains an article which I consider objectionable and I have accordingly withheld the whole.  
A resume of the objectionable part is appended.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 5082 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE:  
Poona, 20th March 1923.

Superintendent.  
Please state for whom the publication was sent.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

No. 2806, D/22nd March 1923.

To  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,, Bombay Presidency, Poona. Returned with compliments.  
The publication was received here addressed to prisoner No. 827 M. K. Gandhi.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.

No. 5959 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 6th April 1923.

Superintendent,

The publication cannot be allowed as it contains objectionable matter. The same has been filed in this office.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Please return

No 3259 D/7th April 1923.

To

The I. G. of Prisons, Poona.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 2867 of 1923.

YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE:

Dated 23rd March 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.  
Subject.—Translation of letters.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the attached letter received for prisoner M. K. Gandhi, for favour of translation and return. I have tried to get it translated here, but have not succeeded.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 544 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE:

Poona, 7th April 1923.

Superintendent,

The letter may be filed in your office.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 3358 of 1923.

YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE:

Dated 10th April 1923.

To

The I. G. of Prisons, Poona.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prisons.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 511 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:

Poona, 28th March 1923.

From

Lt-Col., R. M. Dalziel, I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To

The Oriental Translator to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter of a prisoner confined in the Yeravda Central Prison, for favour of returning the same with its translation into English as usual.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

Personal Assistant,

for Inspector-General of Prisons.

No. C/50 of 1923.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE:

P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 5th April 1923

From

Sheikh Yakub Vazir Mohamed, Esquire, M.B.E., B.A., J.P.,  
Oriental Translator to Government.

To

Lt-Col. R. M. Dalziel, I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 511, dated the 28th March 1923, I have the honour to return untranslated the accompanying

vernacular letter as it is in Bengali, a language not known to any one in this office.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....  
Oriental Translator to Government.

\_\_\_\_\_  
No. 1938 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 21st February 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to forward herewith a booklet recently received for S. G. Banker.  
A resume of contents is attached.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 478 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 9th March 1923.

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for favour of orders. The booklet accompanies.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Through—  
The Oriental Translator to Government, Bombay.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 73-4198-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay Castle, 10th April 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the booklet in Gujarati entitled "Koreani Ladat", which was received with your letter No. 1938, dated the 21st February 1923, to the address of the Inspector-General of Prisons, and to state that it should not be given to prisoner S. G. Banker.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons with reference to his memorandum No. 478, dated the 20th March 1923.

**Letters for Mahatma Gandhi in Sindhi language.**

No. 5258 of 1923.  
Central Prison Office :  
Yeravda, 31st May 1923.

From,

Major S. Whitworth Jones. O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To,

The Inspector-General of Prisons. Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith two letters received for Prisoner M. K. Gandhi, in the Hindi Language, I have tried to get it translated here but have not succeeded. Could you please get

the letters translated and returned to this office for further disposal.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) S. W. Jones.  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 717 of 1923.  
Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 31st May 1923.

From,  
Lt.-Col., R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Ag. : Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To,  
The Sindhi Translator to Government,  
Karachi.

Sir,  
I have the honour to forward herewith 2 Sindhi letters of a prisoner confined in the Yeravda Central Prison for favour of returning the same with their translation into English as usual.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant.  
(Signed) .....  
Personal Assistant,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. C/84 of 1923.  
Oriental Translator's Office,  
P, W. Secretariat, Bombay, 19th June 1923.

From,  
Sheikh Yakub Vazir Mohamed, Esquire, M.B.E., B.A., J. P., Oriental Translator to  
Government.

To,  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to return the two Hindi letters received with your No. 804 dated the 13th instant together with a summarised

translation of the letter marked A and to state that the second letter marked B containing incoherent matter is from Ram Gopal Khama Rudra of No. 159 Kailash Hill, Agra c/o Ganga Ram, Sub-Treasurer, Etah, to Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....  
Oriental Translator to Government.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 364 of 1923.  
Office of the Sindhi Translator to Government,  
Government House, Karachi,  
9th June 1923.

From,  
A. C. Green, Esquire, I.C.S.,  
Sindhi Translator to Government.

To,  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to return the 2 letters received with your letter No. 717, dated 31st May 1923, and to state that as they are in Hindi it is not possible for my office to examine them.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....  
Sindhi Translator to Government.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 804 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE .  
Poona, 13th June 1923.

From  
Lt.-Col. R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To  
The Oriental Translator to Government, Bombay.

Sir,  
I have the honour to forward herewith 2 Hindi letters of

a prisoner confined in the Yeravda C. Prison for favour of returning the same with their translation into English as usual.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....  
Personal Assistant,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons.

A summarised translation of the Hindi accompaniment marked A dated Delhi 24th May 1923 addressed to Mr. M. K. Gandhi from Shraddhanand.

You are aware that the Managing Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha had established a sub-committee for the purpose of carrying out the work of cow protection and that some work was also done. But since my going to jail all work was stopped. Now with a view to establishing similar societies throughout India I have thought of sending out a deputation for whose expenses Rs. 1,000 is required. The Committee has Rs. 5,000 in its treasury. It is, therefore, proposed to hold a meeting of the Committee in the morning of 1st June 1923 at my residence No. 17, New Bazar, Delhi. You are requested to attend, but if it is not possible to do so you will please communicate your approval.

(Signed) Illegible,  
Dated 17th June.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 853 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 23rd June 1923.

To,  
The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith two letters, written in the Hindi language, received for Prisoner M. K. Gandhi in the Yeravda Central Prison, together with the translation thereof as received from the Oriental Translator to Government, Bombay, for favour of issuing necessary orders in the matter.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.



**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78-III/7736-D,  
HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay Castle, 30th June 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the two letters in Hindi, addressed to prisoner M. K. Gandhi, which were received with your letter No. 853, dated the 23rd June 1923, and to state that they should not be delivered to the prisoner.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....

for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 935 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE :  
Poona, 5th July 1923.

Accompaniments:

Two letters in Hindi.

Superintendent—Yeravda Central Prison.

Forwarded with compliments for information and guidance with reference to his letter No. 5258, dated the 31st May last.

Please return this endorsement retaining the accompaniments.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 6423 of 6th July 1923.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE :  
No. 5946 D/21st June 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the attached post card addressed to Prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and to request, orders as to its disposal.

I have etc.,  
(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 849 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 22nd June 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay,  
Copy together with the post card forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag. : Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay.

**POST CARD.**

Dear Sir,

I am to inform you that inspite of several attempts to secure help for a sojourn to one foreign country to prosecute study I have failed at last I approach you to remind you of my craving to be allowed by your kind intervention a regular stipend or allowance from the Swaraj Fund. I remain confident of favour from you as a poor inhabitant of India in case you are determined not to be kind and lenient upon the applicant for help I beseech to be not disturbed with a reply I shall ever be glad if you condescend to accompany me in my trip to foreign countries where I may be fortunate to serve you with heart.

Yours truly,  
(Signed) HIRALAL KHATTRY,  
of Bankipur, Nayatola,  
P. O. Muradpoor.

Calcutta, the 14th June 1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78/7734-D.

HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay Castle, 3rd July 1923.

From

A. Montogmerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the postcard addressed to prisoner M. K. Gandhi, which was received with your memorandum No. 849, dated the 22nd June 1923, and to state that it should not be delivered to the prisoner.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 933 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE :  
Poona, 5th July 1923.

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison. Forwarded with compliments for information and guidance with reference to his No. 5946, dated the 21st ultimo. Please return this endorsement retaining the accompaniment.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,

Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 6424 of 6th July 1923.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Poona.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE :  
No. 5833 D/16th/18th June 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a post card received for prisoner M. K. Gandhi.  
Translation attached.I have etc.,  
(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison. \_\_\_\_\_

**CONFIDENTIAL.**No. 837 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE  
Poona, 21st June 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay. Copy together with the post card  
and its translation forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.  
\_\_\_\_\_

Salams from Amrutlal Kevaldass.

Every house got spinning wheel.

Every house got Khadi.

Every house got Indian articles, when you went to Jail all the members cried now fight with  
Government and get home rules.

Do not let this letter go in the hands of wicked Government.

Sender:—

Amrut Kevaldas.

A Post Card received for M. K. Gandhi.

A translation of same is attached.

For favour of orders please.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
16th June.

**Inspector-General of Prison.**

I have the honour to forward herewith a post-card. Received for Prisoner M. K. Gandhi translation attached.

(Sd.) S. W. JOKES,  
16th June 1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 78/7669.  
HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay Castle, 29th June 1923.

From

J. A. Shillidy, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the post card from Amrut Kevaldas sent with your memorandum No. 837, dated the 21st June 1923 and to request that it may be returned to the sender.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) .....

For Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 914 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE :  
Poona, 3rd July 1923.

To

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison. Forwarded with compliments for favour of further disposal, with reference to his letter No. 5833, dated the 16/18th June 1923. The letter is enclosed herewith.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Colonel I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 6422, dated 6th July 1923.

To

The Inspector-General of Prison, Poona.  
Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 662 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE :  
Yeravda, Date : 19th January 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Mr. N. C. Kelkar of the Kesari Newspaper this morning presented himself at the prison and asked me if I would give him information regarding the health of M. K. Gandhi.

It appears that a report has been published in the Vernacular Press to the effect that Gandhi has been suffering from Melancholia, and that Mrs. Gandhi had wired to Mr. Kelkar to enquire whether there was truth in it.

I informed Mr. Kelkar that M. K. Gandhi is in every respect in excellent health.

I have etc.  
(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 87 of 1923.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE  
Poona, 20th January 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for information.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag. : Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

No. 664 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE :  
Yeravda, 19th January 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In confirmation of my telephone message of this morning.

The enclosed wires were received this morning.

That marked (1) I have replied to as a pre-paid from accompanied.

No. (2) remains unanswered.

Gandhi's health leaves nothing to be desired.

I have etc.,  
(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 85 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 20th January 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments, for information.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**Telegram**

From

Upendarnath,  
C/o Raja Narendar Nath.

Lahore, 18th January 1923.

To

Superintendent, Yeravda Jail, Yeravda.

Kindly wire Mahatma Gandhi's welfare.

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*Telegram*

From

Gandhi,  
 Sabarmati,  
 18th January 1923.

To

Prison,  
 Yeravda.

Please send correct information regarding reports about Mahatmaji's health appearing Hindustan and Saurashtra.

No. 20293 of 1922.  
 Inspector-General of Prisons' Office:  
 Poona, 18/19th December 1922.

MEMORANDUM:

Reference our telephone conversation of yesterday.

Kindly quote the rules which permit a prisoner to substitute an interview for a letter.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
 Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
 Ag. Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Bombay Presidency.

To,

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 12920 of 1922.  
 Yeravda, 20th December 1922.

From,

Major. S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,  
 Superintendent, Yervada Central Prison.

To,

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Bombay Presidency, Poona,  
 Central Prison Office.

Sir,

Reference your Memo. No. 20293, dated 19th inst., I quote below the rule which permits a prisoner to substitute an interview for a letter.

G. R., H. D-, No. 2256 dated 28th July 1922 Rule 818 Note (3).

I have etc.  
 (Signed) S. W. JONES,  
 Major I.M.S.,  
 Superintendent, Yeravda C. Prison.



**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1537 of 1922.  
 Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
 Poona, 27th December 1922.

To,

The Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay.

Copies forwarded with compliments for favour of orders.

2. This means that Gandhi and others can have two interviews in three months if they have not had letters.

3. A letter is easily censored but interviews given to these prisoners always cause trouble.

4. I suggest that Superintendents of Prisons should not act on Rule 818 Note (3) without sanction of Inspector-General of Prisons in cases where the prisoner has been sentenced for an offence against the state or cognate offences.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,

Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 2256-15111-D.  
 Home Department,  
 Secretariat, Fort, Bombay, 18th January 1923.

From,

S. J. Murphy, Esquire,  
 Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
 Home Department.

To,

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
*Subject:—*Substitution of an interview for a letter.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 1537, dated the 27th December 1922, on the subject mentioned above, I am directed to request that you will kindly inform the superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, that he should exercise his discretion where necessary and refuse the substitution of an interview for a letter under Note 3 to rule 818-II of the Model Rules printed in Government Resolution, Home Department No. 2256, dated the 28th July 1922, and that he has also discretion under Rule 830 of the same Rules.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
 Home Department.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 89 of 1923.  
Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 22nd January 1923.

From,  
Lt.-Col. R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

With reference to your No. 12920 dated 20th December 1922, you should exercise discretion where necessary, and refuse the substitution of an interview for a letter under note 3 to rule 818-II of the Model Rules printed in Government Resolution, Home Department No. 2256 dated 28th July 1922.

2. Your attention is also called to Rule 830 of the same Rules which permits a Superintendent to use his discretion regarding refusing an interview.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.

Satyagrahashram.  
Sabarmati, 6th January 1923.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
Central Prison, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 12867, dated the 19th December 1922, after communication with Mrs, Gandhi, I beg to inform you that she desires to have an interview with Mahatma Gandhi next week.

The names of the relatives besides myself are as follows:—

Syt. Abhechand Amritlal Gandhi.

Syt. Maganlal Khushalchand Gandhi (my younger brother) and his daughter Radhaben.

Kindly let me know the exact date and time when we can have the interview.

Yours faithfully,  
(Signed) Chhaganlal K. Gandhi.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 239.  
Yeravda Central Prison Office :  
8th January 1923.

I. G. Prisons,  
In obedience to instructions contained in 78D, dated 13th December 1922 from Secretary to Government in the Home Department application is forwarded with compliments for Government orders.

(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Y. C. P.

8th January 1923.

In this connection please note that under instructions received by me as per your conf. 933 dated 28th July 1922 M. K. Gandhi is not to have an interview with any prisoner.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 16 of 1923.  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Poona, 9th January 1923.

To  
The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
Forwarded with compliments for favour of necessary orders.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S,  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency,

Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, 10th January 1923.

To  
The Superintendent,  
Central Prison, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

Mrs. Gandhi desires me to inform you that in place of Radhaben (daughter of Mr. Maganlal Gandhi) Vasumatiben would accompany her to Poona. She hopes that you would obtain the necessary permission for her to have an interview with Mahatma Gandhi. Vasumatiben is a widow of Mr. Dhimatram Nawalram and like a daughter to Mrs. Gandhi.

Yours faithfully,  
(Signed) Chhaganlal K. Gandhi.

No. 388 of 1923.  
Central Prison Office :  
North Yeravda.

I. G. P.

Forwarded for orders please.

(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Y. C. Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 36 of 1923.  
Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 13th January 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders in continuation of this office confidential No. 16 dated 9th instant.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

No. 472 of 1923.  
Central Prison Office:  
Yeravda, 16th January 1923.

From,

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In continuation of this office No. 388, dated 11th January 1923, I have the honour to forward herewith a telegram received this morning and my reply thereto.

I have etc.  
(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 69 of 1923.  
Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 17th January 1923.

To,

Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of orders in continuation of this office Confl. No. 36, dated 13th January 1923.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

*Telegram*

From,

Gandhi, Sabarmati.

To,

Prisons Poona, Yeravda.

15th January 1923.

Please communicate definite decision early regarding Mrs. Gandhi and others application for interview with Mahatmaji.

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Telegram.*

From,

Central" Jail, Yeravda.

To,

Gandhi, Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati.

Reference your wire. Permission applied for. Result will be communicated when received.

No. 1053 of 1923.  
Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 17th January 1923.

**MEMORANDUM:**

Your letter No. 472, dated 16th January 1923.

I have referred the matter to Government for orders.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To,

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prisons.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 102 of 1923.  
Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 25th January 1923.

From,

Lt.-Colonel, R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Ag. : Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To,

The Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer you to correspondence ending with this office confidential No. 69 and dated 17th January 1923.

2. Please say if Mrs. Gandhi should have an interview with her husband M. K. Gandhi. If the answer is in the affirmative, please say if any other person should have an interview with the prisoner along with Mrs. Gandhi.

3. It should be noted that the interview, about which there was recent correspondence, did not take place so the prisoner has not had an interview since about 1st October 1922.

4. I may say that Mrs. Gandhi and others came to the Prison to-day asking for an interview so I hope you can kindly reply at an early date.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 828 of 1923.  
Central Prison Office :  
Yeravda, 25th January 1923.

From,

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To,

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

The following relations of M. K. Gandhi visited me this morning and asked for an interview with him. Mrs. Gandhi, Maganlal Gandhi, Chhaganlal Gandhi's son and two other (female relations).

I told them that applications for interview with Gandhi had to go to higher authority for sanction.

They asked then if they might see him only, as they had had disturbing news about his health. I replied that I regretted I could

not accede to their request and assured them that Gandhi was and is in excellent health. They then said they had come far to see Gandhi and would I telephone for permission to only see him. I accordingly communicated with you and in accordance with your instructions again gave them a reply in the negative.

They then asked me to send a telegram to H. E. the Governor. This I refused to do and referred them to you.

I have etc.  
 (Signed) S. W. JONES,  
 Major I.M.S.  
 Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 108 of 1923.  
 Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
 Poona, 26th January 1923.

To,

The Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information.

2., Mrs. Gandhi and Maganlal came to my office. They were received with politeness.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
 Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
 Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
 Bombay Presidency.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 115 of 1923.  
 Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
 Poona, 28th January 1923.

To,

The Secretary to Government,  
 Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments for information.

(Sd.) .....  
 Personal Assistant,  
 For Inspector-General of Prisons

*Telegram—State*

Name—Prisons.

Address—Poona.

78-336-603-D Your numbers 239 and 388, dated 8th and 12th January respectively.  
 Permission granted to Mrs. Gandhi Messrs.

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Chhaganlal K. Gandhi Abhechand Amritlal Gandhi and Mrs. Vasumatiben, widow of Dhimatram Navalram to visit prisoner Gandhi Addressed Jail Yeravda, repeated Prisons, Poona.

Bombay Home  
D. O'Flynn.

Copy by post.

Assistant Secretary to the Government  
of Bombay,  
Home Department,  
26th January 1923.

True Copy.  
(Signed) .....  
For Superintendent.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 96 of 1923.  
Dated 24th January 1923.

Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.  
Your letter No. 765 of 22nd January 1923.

The two communications with two books, referred to therein, have this day been sent to Government for orders.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
M.B.C.M.D.P.H.  
Lt.-Colonel I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Concord, Massachusetts,  
U.S.A.

December 17th 1922.

Dear Mahatma Gandhi,

Perhaps you will not be displeased to receive a letter from the little New England town of Concord, in the State of Massachusetts, where Henry D. Thoreau lived. I have read about you a good deal and it was with a certain thrill of pleasure that I read of your admiration for the writings of Thoreau. Ralph Waldo Emerson also lived in this town and I dare say you know something about him. If you have not read Emerson's Essays, please let me know and I will send them to you at once. Among the legends preserved in this town is an amusing story told of Thoreau when he was once put into the town Jail because he refused to pay his taxes. He had an idea that he ought to show the harmless people of Concord an example of some kind of " Civil Disobedience ", so he decided that



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he would not pay his poll tax. The natural consequence of this proceeding was that he was locked up in the town Jail. He stayed there until some well disposed friend paid the tax for him, and much to his disgust he was liberated from the jail. That must have been I suppose fifty or more years ago. But while he was in the Jail, his friend Ralph Waldo Emerson thought it was his Christian duty to go and console with Thoreau in the jail. When he was admitted to see Thoreau he said to him, " Henry, why are you here ?" To this Thoreau answered, " Ralph, why are you not here ? ".

There are those of us here who like to keep the glory of Emerson and Thoreau burning brightly and if the fame of them has reached to you in far-away India, it seems right that we should send you a message of greeting and friendship. I myself all through the German war (3½ years) was locked up in Berlin as a prisoner of war, and I know how monotonous that kind of life gets to be. A letter or anything like that sent to me was a God-send. Now I am going to make bold to send you by the same post a book I wrote some years ago called " the Trial before Pilate." It is an historical inquiry into the life of Christ. I got your address from an India friend of mine who used to live in America, but is now in India. I shall be very glad indeed to receive a letter from you. Certainly there is no hope for the world except through spiritual forces. Write to me for any book which you want and believe me yours faithfully.

(Signed) E. H. JAMES.

Union Theological Seminary,  
Broadway at 120th Street, New York.

21st December 1922.

Mohatma Gandhi,  
Care The Government of India, India.

Dear Mohatma Gandhi,

You are doubtless aware of the extensive work carried on in India by American Missionary Societies. Sometime ago these combined societies asked me to write a text on India that might be studied throughout this country by those interested in the Church's work abroad. It was with a feeling of sacred trust that I undertook the task of interpreting your country to those with Missionary interests in America. I am venturing to send a copy to you of " Building with India," of which 117,000 copies are now in circulation.

It was my privilege to be a professor in Lahore for twelve years, beginning with 1898. I went back to India in 1919-1920 as Secretary of the Commission on " Village Education in India ". I need hardly

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say how much India is endeared to me, and with what interest I have followed your life of service. I have frequently told audiences in America about you and the way in which I feel you embody some of the best emphases in the Indian mind and culture.

My whole time now is given to the preparation of those who are going out to China, Japan, India and other foreign countries. I am endeavouring to instill in all of them a sincere appreciation for the capacities and attainments of the peoples to whom they go, and to set their minds toward a study of the noble heritage that each of these peoples has (as in Chapter one).

I also want them to see fairly and in an unprejudiced way those needs of these lands which possibly America can help to meet (as in Chapter two).

I also want them to have their eyes opened to the splendid ways in which the peoples of these lands, whether Christian or non-Christian, are working for their own progress and development (as in Chapter three).

I shall be very glad indeed for any comment you would care to make on this interpretation of India, and shall very sincerely appreciate any suggestion that you may care to make as to the spirit or attitude which you would like to have instilled in those who are going out from America to serve in other lands.

Assuring you that I shall deeply appreciate your co-operation with me in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) D. J. FLEMING,  
Director of the Department of Foreign Service.

No. 78-1104-D,  
Home Department:  
Bombay Castle, 5th February 1923.

From,  
A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,  
The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 98, dated the 24th January 1923, submitting a letter to your address from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, regarding two communications addressed to prisoner M. K. Gandhi from Messrs. E. M. James and D. J. Fleming and a book in two volumes, entitled

" The Trial before Pilate ", I am directed to request that you will please inform the Superintendent that Government do not consider it desirable that the letters and the books should be made over to the prisoner. They have been retained by Government.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....  
Secretary to the "Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 206 of 1923.

Inspector-General of Prisons' Office : Poona, 6th February 1923. MEMORANDUM : Re :—  
Your Confdl. No. 765, dated 22nd January 1923. The letters and the 2 volumes sent by Messrs. E. M. James and D. J. Fleming to M. K. Gandhi have been retained by Government. Government does not consider it desirable that the letters and the books should be made over to the prisoner.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 979 of 1923.

Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 18th July 1923.

MEMORANDUM.

To  
The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Forwarded with compliments.

2. With the present arrangement, if M. K. Gandhi were to make a point of doing so, he could communicate illegally, verbally and in writing. The latter would certainly be difficult, but if the prisoner were determined I fear he could eventually succeed in getting a note through.

3. Regarding verbal messages, it would not be difficult to get a message, perhaps incomplete or misunderstood, passed in or out. A few whispered words, from or to the prisoner, could be managed.

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4. M. K. Gandhi, to do him justice, does not appear to have endeavoured to have irregular communications or to have attempted to seduce his attendants. There was not much danger when Banker was his companion as he did not seem to have any will of his own and appeared to be under M. K. Gandhi's spell.

5. However M. K. Gandhi's present two companions are different and they might take more active interest in events passing outside their own quarters and they would naturally converse with their more important fellow prisoner, but I think that recent events suggest that the jail gossip which M. K. Gandhi had heard was incomplete, and suggests that he was not receiving definite and "Arranged for" messages.

6. It should be noted that these prisoners in the Special Division cannot well be deprived of their privileges.

7. There appears to me to be only two possible procedures which can be adopted in this matter. One is to continue the present arrangement and the Superintendent and his staff may be asked to, if possible, increase their vigilance, especially regarding ruthless and elaborate searching of all who come in contact with M. K. Gandhi with the exception of the European staff and the assistant surgeon.

8. The Superintendent should see that, even in the absence of the assistant surgeon on leave or for any other reason, the S. M. S. or compounder should never enter the yard in which these special prisoners are quartered, unless on some very special occasion e.g. in the case of sudden illness of M. K. Gandhi.

9. The present assistant surgeon must by now have nearly completed, if he has not already completed, the period that an assistant surgeon is usually asked to do duty at a jail, and I think he might be replaced by a strong minded assistant surgeon. I think the present (fairly recently appointed) medical officer at the Deccan Extra Mural Gang would do. He is a keen young man of a good type who I believe hopes to go to England to obtain a higher qualification and if possible, enter the I.M.S. I merely suggest this man and perhaps the Surgeon General may, if asked to do so, select a better officer.

10. However, if arrangements must be made to "**Completely** guard against communications". I fear there is nothing for it but to adopt some heroic measure similar to that suggested by the Superintendent.

11. Apart from the expense, there are drawbacks to the plan. These five Europeans would need to be recruited from the needy European unemployed and they would be unknown quantities, and their tact and integrity untried.

12. A better plan would be to appoint five European Police sergeants, selected by the Inspector-General of Police.

13. This plan would be cheaper as these sergeants would. I take it, not need to be specially entertained as, during time of civil peace, I presume that a certain percentage of the Police Forces may be looked on as in reserve.

14. If at any time it were imperative that these Police sergeants should be recalled to more active duties, the position could be reconsidered and the difficulty met as it arose. The plan has the further advantage that the Police sergeants would be men who are already trained in tact and police duty.

15. It should be remembered that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and a few whispered words from a menial e.g. the barber, might upset all our plans, therefore part of the duty of this special guard would be that one of them would always require to be present at every interview which any of these special prisoners had with any individual, with the exception of the Superintendent and the members of his superior staff.

16. It should be remembered that the constant presence of the special guard might be irksome to M. K. Gandhi and he might interpret it as a peculiar form of solitary confinement and it is disquieting to know, that this prisoner has shown that he is capable of stooping to the use of the cowardly weapon of hunger striking.

17. Without any desire to force on Government, my purely departmental opinion on this political question, I with deference suggest that the present arrangements may stand, with the modifications suggested by me in the earlier part of this endorsement.

(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,

Ag.: Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

No. 6694 of 1923.

Yeravda Prison Office :  
Dated 13th July 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay.  
Through the Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that:—

(1) I have been asked to explain the difficulties of preventing information of events which occur within this prison being

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conveyed to prisoner M. K. Gandhi and what arrangements can be made to completely guard against communication.

(2) This prisoner occupies cells in the rear barrack of the two other prisoners in the Special Division. These three have free access to one another and are not locked up in their cells at night. As Special prisoners, they are entitled to the performances of menial services by other prisoners and they are visited for inspection by several jailors and warders. A list of those having access to the yard is as follows:—

(a) Assistant Surgeon.

(b) British jailors.

These five men are in my opinion above suspicion.

(c) Inside the yard there are permanently two convict officers two servants and one sweeper.

(d) Two night duty head warders visit every night. These men have the key of the gate.

(e) A convict officer is on gate duty during the day. At night this gate is locked.

(f) A convict orderly brings milk to (the prisoners). (g) A barber.

(h) A scavenger file of four men.

(i) Various carriers of food, wood, etc.

There are thus about fifteen men who might bear notes or verbal messages.

I do not think it is possible to exclude these men and under present conditions, a determined attempt to get a message through, has a good chance of success and is most difficult to guard against.

Part of the wall of this yard is common to it and other yards, and to throw a message attached to a stone over this, would be an easy matter and could be accomplished by any one of my warder establishment, whose pay is so small, that honesty can hardly be expected.

The best method to close all possible channels of communication is expensive. I suggest that a British jailor of the right type be constantly in attendance. This would mean the employment of five jailors in addition to the number we now have. I should then be able to give each man two nights in bed and to have constant supervision night and day. It would however cost about a thousand rupees per month.

I have etc.

(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 130-II-C.  
Home Department:  
Bombay Castle, 16th November 1923.

From

J. A. Shillidy, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,

The Superintendent of the Central Prison, Yeravda.

Sir,

With reference to Major Whitworth-Jones' letter No. 6694 dated the 13th July 1923, I am directed to request that you will be so good as to report through the Inspector-General of Prisons whether you regard any reorganization of the present jail staff as necessary.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....

Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Inspector-General of Prisons, with reference to his letter No. 979, dated the 18th July 1923.

**Gandhijis Health Report**

No. 3337 of 1922.

Central Prison Office :  
Yeravda, 22nd April 1922.

To

Miss Anasuya Sarabhai,  
Seva-Ashram, Ahmedabad.

Madam,

The health of both prisoners is good. The weight of M. K. Gandhi is—109 Lbs. and the weight of S. G. Banker is 111.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
M.B.,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 7495 of 1922.  
Yeravda Central Prison:  
11th July 1922.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the fortnightly health report of the three undermentioned prisoners :—

M. K. Gandhi.  
Health—Fair.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.  
S. L. Banker.  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.  
Pir Gulam Mujadad.  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major O.B.E.I.M.S.  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 6983 of 1922.  
Yeravda Central Prison:  
28th July 1922.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the fortnightly health report of the three undermentioned prisoners :—

M. K. Gandhi.  
Health—Fair.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.



S. G. Banker.  
 Health—Good,  
 Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
 Character—Good.  
 Pir Gulam Mujadad.  
 Health—Good.  
 Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
 Character—Good.

I have the honour to be,  
 Sir,  
 Your most obedient servant,  
 (Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
 Major O.B.E.I.M.S.  
 Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 8061 of 1922.  
 Central Prison Office :  
 Yeravda, 26th August 1922.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
 Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the fortnightly health report on the three undermentioned prisoners :—

M. K. Gandhi.  
 Health—Fair.  
 Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
 Conduct—Good.  
 S. L. Banker—  
 Health—Good.  
 Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
 Conduct—Good.  
 Pir Gulam Mujadad.  
 Health—Good.  
 Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
 Conduct—Good.

I have the honour to be,  
 Sir,  
 Your most obedient servant,  
 (Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
 Major O.B.E.I.M.S.  
 Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**No. 9539 of 1922.  
Yeravda Central Prison :  
8th September 1922.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the fortnightly health report of the three undermentioned prisoners :—

M. K. Gandhi.  
Health—Fair.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

S. L. Banker.  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

Pir Gulam Mujadad.  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

I have the honour to be,  
**Sir,**Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major O.B.E.I.M.S.

---

**CONFIDENTIAL.**No. 10090 of 1922.  
Yeravda Central Prison:  
22nd September 1922.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the fortnightly health report of the three undermentioned prisoners :—

M. K. Gandhi.  
Health—Fair.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

S. G. Banker.  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

Pir Gulam Mujadad.  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major O.B.E.I.M.S.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 10658 of 1922.  
Central Prison Office :  
Yeravda, 9th October 1922.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to forward the fortnightly health report on the three undermentioned prisoners :—

M. K. Gandhi.  
Health—Fair.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

S. G. Banker-  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

Pir Gulam Mujadad.  
Health—Good.  
Incidents of Importance—Nil.  
Conduct—Good.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obeldient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major O.B.E.I.M.S.  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 5236 of 1923.  
Yeravda Prison Office:  
30th May 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prison,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Reference your Confdl. No. 694 dated the 22nd May 1923.

I have the honour to report that there is little or no difference since last Tuesday.

There is a further loss of one lb. in weight, but the general conditions remains the same.

In consultation with the Civil Surgeon, I have decided to give him a course of Emetine Bismuthous Iodide.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 5700.  
Date 12/13th June 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S., Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that the General condition of prisoner M. K. Gandhi continues to improve, though there is no marked change in weight.

I have the honour to be,  
(Signed) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**Yeravda Prison Office :  
No. 5912D/20th June 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that prisoner M. K. Gandhi's weight has not increased during the past week.

He is today being put on B-Naphthol under the advice of the Civil Surgeon.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.**CONFIDENTIAL.**Yeravda Prison Office :  
No. 6123, D/27th June 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that during the past week prisoner M. K. Gandhi has increased in weight by two pounds.

Nothing else to report.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**Yeravda Prison Office:  
No. 6345, D/3rd July 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Reference your No. 694 dated the 22nd May 1923, I have the honour to report that prisoner M. K. Gandhi continues to improve.

His weight shows an increase of 1 lb. as against last week's weigh-ment.

In all respects save weight it may now be said that he has resumed his normal habit.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

---

**CONFIDENTIAL.**Yeravda Prison Office :  
No. 6597, Dated 10th July 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Reference your No. 694 dated 22nd May 1923, I have the honour to report that during the past week the weight of prisoner M. K. Gandhi has decreased by two pounds.

This was due to a dietary error, resulting in a temporary indisposition which no longer obtains.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 6865 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE :  
Dated 18th July 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Reference your No. 694 dated the 22nd May 1923, I have the honour to report that during the past week prisoner M. K. Gandhi lost one pound in weight. This he attributes to mental strains, and I am of the opinion that his general condition is satisfactory.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 7172 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE :  
Dated 28th/30th July, 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that prisoner M. K. Gandhi's weight to improve. I do not think it necessary to continue the weekly report and request permission to discontinue it. I will of course at once send you further information if occasion demands.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 50-T.

HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Poona, 6th August 1923.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 1056, dated the 30th July 1923, I am desired to inform you that Major Whitworth Jones may

now discontinue sending his weekly reports on the health of prisoner Gandhi.

Yours truly,

(Signed) .....

D. J. MacDonald.

To

Lieut. Colonel R. M. Dalziel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1081 of 1923.

Inspector-General of Prisons' Office :  
Poona, 6th August 1923.

To

Major S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,

Copy forwarded with compliments for information with reference to his No. 7172 dated 28th/30th July 1923.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,

Ag : Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 8.

HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 3rd March 1922.

From

G. Wiles, Esquire,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The District Magistrate, Poona.

*Subject.*—Treatment of Prisoner Pir Gulam Mujadad.

Sir,

With reference to your Memorandum No. Off-con-259, dated the 23rd February 1922, regarding the treatment of Pir Gulam Mujadad, I am directed to state that special instructions have already been given to the Inspector-General of Prisons as to the *firm treatment* of these prisoners while in the Karachi Jail, which must since have been intimated by him to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Prison. If any further reference in this matter should be necessary I am



to request that you will kindly make them to the Inspector-General of Prisons.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) .....  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to:—

The Inspector-General of Prisons with a request that, if he has not already done so, he will personally satisfy himself at once that the necessity of firm but tactful treatment of these prisoners from Karachi has been fully realised by the various Superintendents of the respective prisoners.

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. S.D. 885.  
23rd March 1922.

My dear Mell,

His Excellency desires that Messrs. Gandhi and Banker should be dealt with as far as possible by the European jail staff and that in the case of interviews special precautions should be taken against political discussion and the issue of message to the public.

Official orders are being issued for the adoption with one or two minor modifications, of the model rules appended to the Jail Committee's Report.

Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) J. CRERAR.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 174 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE:  
Poona, 27th March 1922.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.  
Copy forwarded for information.

(Signed) .....  
Personal Assistant,  
for Inspector-General of Prisons.

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**Assembly question, on Gandhi.**

No. 6367 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE:  
Yeravda, 10th July 1922.

From  
Lieut. Colonel R. M. Dalziel, M.B.I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Central Prison, Yeravda.

To  
The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Sir,  
With reference to your No. L.C. 157, dated 4th July 1922, I have the honour to forward herewith the attached draft reply duly completed.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt. Colonel, I.M.S.

*Treatment of Mr. M. K. Gandhi in Jail.*

1. Mr. G. B. Trivedi (Thana District) asked will the Government be pleased to state: —

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*Draft reply.*

(a) On what exact date the following things were supplied to Mr. M. K. Gandhi after his removal to Yeravda Jail : —

(1) Raisins.

(1) Has had raisins from the beginning of his imprisonment in Yeravda Central Prison. The raisins being supplied to the prisoner cost Rs.  $\frac{3}{4}$  per pound.

(2) A Pillow.

(2) Pillow supplied on 2nd April 1922.

(3) A Commode.

(3) Commode of English pattern supplied on 2nd April 1922.

(b) Since what exact date was his cell not locked at night? (b) 2nd April 1922.

(c) Were his own religious books disallowed to him? (c) No.

- (d) Were copies of "Navjivan" and "Young India" intended for him received at the Jail after his admission ? (d) Yes.
- (e) Were they refused? (e) Yes.
- (f) Have they issued instructions that on the occasion of future interviews he be offered a seat ? (f) Instructions have not been given to the Superintendent of the Jail. However six brand new chairs were provided for the prisoner and his "visitors at his last interview.
- (g) Will Government be pleased to state if he is kept in jail as a solitary prisoner ? (g) M. K. Gandhi is not kept as a solitary prisoner.
- (h) If not what are the reasons for not allowing him to mix with other prisoners in the same jail undergoing simple imprisonment ? (h) See answer to (g).

No. LC. 157.  
HOME DEPARTMENT:  
Poona, 4th July 1922.

Forwarded to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, with a request that he will furnish the necessary information in the form of draft replies.

(Signed) .....  
For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

No. 6621 of 1922.  
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON:  
18th July 1922.

From  
Lieut Col. R. M. Dalziel, M.B. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to forward the attached correspondence duly

completed as requested in your No. 24 U.O.R., dated 17th July 1922.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lieut. Col., M.B. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

*Question No. 5 by Rao Saheb Harilal D. Desai.*—Will Government be pleased to state<sup>1</sup> whether it is a fact that Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Banker have been secluded from communication with or sight of and association at meal time with other prisoners while undergoing simple imprisonment only?

*Answer.*—(5) The two prisoners in question eat at times appointed by themselves. They may eat their food in the privacy of their quarters, or they may eat outside where other prisoners may see them these two prisoners who get food peculiarly their own, do not eat in association with the other prisoners, who eat the usual food at the usual hours.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 921 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE.  
Poona, 25th July 1922.

MEMORANDUM.

After Prisoner M. K. Gandhi had an interview on 1st July 1922, with members of his family, the yarn, spun by him and Prisoner S L. G. Banker in prison, was sent to Mrs. Gandhi as she had earnestly desired it. As this kindness has been misunderstood and abused please see that in future no similar concession is given.

(Sd.) R. M. Dalziel.  
Lt.-Col. I. M. S.,  
Acting Inspector General of Prisons.  
Bombay Presidency.

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Question asked by Mr. Dipchand T. Ojha.(Karachi City).	Proposed answer
2. Will Government be pleased to state if the Ali Brothers, Jairamdas, Choithram, Ghanshamdas, Vishnoo, Lokram and Jhamatmal formerly editors of Hindu, Govindanand and.....(torn) are given their own bedding, books, newspapers and lights at night ?	
4. Will Government be pleased to state why persons convicted under sections 124-A, 108 and 144, Criminal Procedure Code, are not allowed to mix with other prisoners in the same jail ?	

Question asked by Mr. Dipohand T. Ojha. (Karachi City).	Proposed answer
5. Is it a fact that respectable Indian prisoners are given the ordinary jail diet given to criminals, while Eurasian and European prisoners are given better food and provided with bath and sanitary arrangements ?	
6. (a) Is it a fact that political prisoners are not given a pillow and have to take their bath in the open without any towels or soap ?	
(b) Is it a fact that political prisoners have to wash their own clothes when they get dirty and are not supplied with a change, but have to stand almost naked till the clothes they wash get dry.	

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1101 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 1st February 1923.

From,

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Reference Head Office Confidential Letter No. 156, dated 30th January 1923, I have the honour to report as follows :—

*Question 2* :—Jairamdas and Lokram, who are confined in this prison, have the usual prison bedding they also have books but no Newspapers and no lights at night.

*Question 4*.—Prisoners convicted under section 124-A, I.P.C. and 108, C.P.C. are confined in cells. Meals are taken in association, that is, conversation may take place as between individuals occupying contiguous cells. This applies also to those prisoners convicted under section 144, I.P.C, who are confined in cells.

*Question 5*.—It is not quite understood as to what constitutes a respectable Indian prisoner. However all prisoners receive rations according to the scales laid down in the Bombay Jail Manual, save only those for whom medical reason render it necessary to make additions or alterations. Eurasian and European prisoners have a different diet to Indians not a better one. All prisoners European and Indian alike are provided with bathing facilities and sanitary arrangements.

*Question 6*.—(a) Unless admitted to Hospital no prisoner has a pillow with the exceptions of Gandhi, Banker, the Thakur of Rupal (detenu) and Haji Atayah (Arab Detenu).

All Indian prisoners take their baths in the open. Each man has a towel measuring 2' 0" by 1' 6" on issue of Soap or soap nuts is made to all weekly.

(b) All Prisoners have to wash their own clothes except Gandhi, Banker, Thakur of Rupal and Haji Atayah. Those sentenced to Simple Imprisonment may have a change of clothing, but those sentenced to Rigorous Imprisonment may not.

No prisoner need stand " almost naked " till his clothes dry. I gave orders on 6th December 1922 that all prisoners be permitted, while clothes are drying to cover themselves with blankets.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,

Major I.M.S.,

Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 362 of 1923.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 27th February 1923.

**MEMORANDUM : —**

Reference his No. 1838, dated 19th February 1923. Has the honour to return herewith History Tickets of the below noted prisoners.—

1. No. 827 M. K. Gandhi.
2. No. 826 S. G. Banker.
3. No. 934 M. A. Sookhta.
4. No. 841 S. V. Malebinnur.
5. No. 28 Thakor Hamirsinghji.
6. No. 292 Haji Atiyah.
7. No. 477 Hassan Mahomed.

2. Please acknowledge receipt of the same.

(Sd.)

Personal Assistant,  
For Inspector General of Prisons

To,

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. L.C. 157 of 1922.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Poona, 27th October 1922.

From,

J. Crerar, Esq. C.S.I., CLE., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

To,

Mrs. Kastoorbai Gandhi, Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati.

Madam,

With reference to your letter dated the 13th October 1922 to the address of the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of

Bombay, I am directed to inform you that the orders of Government are to the effect that approved books and periodicals in a reasonable number may be supplied to prisoners, but not newspapers. Government are unaware of the reply to a question in the Legislative Council to which you allude as being at variance with these orders. *Any application made in compliance with these orders will be duly considered by the superintendent of the Prison.*

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) J. CRERAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

No. L. C. 157.

HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Poona, 27th October 1922.

Copy forwarded to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison, for information.

(Sd.) J. CRERAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 1567-D.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 11th September 1922.

From,  
J. Crerar, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,  
The Inspector General of Prisons,  
*Subject.*—Prisoners, Supply of Books.

Sir,  
With reference to your letter No. 12570, dated the 28th July 1922, I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward herewith the accompanying memorandum containing instructions in regard to the supply of books to prisoners confined in the Jails of the Bombay Presidency.

I have etc.

(Sd.) J. CRERAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1119 of 1922.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS OFFICE,  
Poona, 14th September 1922.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
Prisons, Jails and Gangs.  
Copy forwarded for information and guidance.

(Sd.) R. M. Dalziel,  
Lt. Col. I.M.S.,  
Acting Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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**BOMBAY CHRONICLE.**

2nd November 1922.

*Mahatma in Jail.*

On Monday we drew attention to letter received by Mr. R. G. Tripathi from the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, informing him that prison rules do not permit of periodicals being read by prisoners, and returning to him copy of the " Samalochak " which he had sent for the use of Mahatmaji. We pointed out that this reply of the Superintendent was in conflict with the categorical statement made by Mr. Hayward, the Home Member, in the Council that " books and periodicals " were allowed to Mahatmaji. We are glad to note that the Director of Information has promptly issued a press Note, on behalf of Government, saying that the statement of the Superintendent of Yeravda Prison " is due to misapprehension " on his part and that " orders were issued in March last permitting aproved periodicals and the attention of the Superintendent has been called to these orders.". That a " misapprehension" of this nature affecting the treatment of one, in whose welfare the whole country is keenly interested, should at all arise is an eloquent commentary on the boasted efficiency of Government Departments. Apart from this, it throws instructive sidelight on the manner in which replies are given by Government members in the Council. When Mr. Hayward replied to Mr. Petit's question did he base his reply on the orders that were evidently issued by himself in March last or had he taken care to ascertain if the orders were being actually carried out ? Evidently, Mr. Hayward took for granted that the orders, having been issued, were being carried out. Many grave allegations regarding the treatment of political prisoners have been publicly made. In several cases, Mr. Hayward has from his place in the Council, emphatically characterised these allegations as false. In view of the strange " mis-apprehension " on the part of the Superintendent of Yeravda Jail, we wonder in how many of these cases Mr. Hayward's replies have been based on facile assumptions or inaccurate information supplied by his subordinates.

CONFIDENTIAL.

No. 2119 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE :  
Dated 27th February 1923.

From : Major, S. W. Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To: The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter from prisoner M. K. Gandhi. This has reference to your confidential No. 209. dated 6th February 1923.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, O.B.E.I.M.S..  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 389 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISON'S OFFICE,  
Poona, 1st March 1923.

Superintendent.

2. Please see last part of H. D. No. 78-1723-D, dated 20th February 1923, copy of which was sent to you with my endorsement No. 344, dated 21st February 1923.

3 The periodicals were disallowed by a competent authority.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S,  
Acting Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

Ahmednagar,  
Dated the 12th May 1923.

From : R. K. Sarosh Irani, Esquire,  
" Sarosh Manzil", Ahmednagar.

To: Mahatmaji M. K. Gandhi,  
Yeravda Jail, Yeravda, Poona.

Dear Sir,

I beg to send you a copy of the life of " SHRI SADGURU UPASANI MAHARAJ of Sakori in Marathi.

It is needless for me to write to you anything more about the work or explain to you the peculiar but selfless and noble activities of a Sadguru. I am sure you will appreciate the work and ask some of your friends and acquaintances of means to order large number of copies and distribute them freely, as the money realised by the sale is to be utilized for a noble cause.

It is very likely that a great Spiritual force may suddenly play an important part in the near future.

Messrs. Circle and Co., 167, Main Road, DADAR, Bombay, have the sole right of publishing this Life.

Hoping to hear from you,

I remain,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) R. K. Sorosh Irani,

No. 4905 of 1923.

YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,

Dated 17th and 18th May 1923.

To,

R. K. Sarosh Irani, Esquire,  
" Sarosh Manzil ", Ahmednagar.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of the parcel containing a book entitled " Shri Sadguru Upasani" and have to inform you that the same has been handed over to prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

M. K. Gandhi has requested me to express his thanks to you for the book.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) .....  
Major, I.M.3.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

" Highway "

Comb Down,

*Bath*

1st September 1923.

Dear Sir,

I left India in 1888 after a service of many years therein and therefore I may claim to know a little about Hindus.

---

I have read that Mr. Gandhi who is or who has been a prisoner in the Ahmedabad Jail used to believe and tried to act upon the principles embodied in the " Sermon on the Mount" and thought that Government conducted in accordance with those principles would be the best possible for all men. He may have ceased to read the Gospels. So I enclose a copy of the Gospel according to St. Mark with the request that you will be kind enough to pass it on to him if the regulation of the Jail allow this to be done. It may prevent Mr. Gandhi from continuing to incite others to mutiny and insubordination the consequences of which were so serious when I first went to India, I may say that as far as my own experience went either Hindu or Mahommedan preferred to be under the British Raj, because they were certain of obtaining justice under the administration of British officials.

Please excuse bad writing and any mistakes as I am on my 83 years and nearly blind.

Yours faithfully,

G. R. Gibbs,  
(Col. Retired),

The Superintendent Ahmedabad, Jail.

No. 7330 of 1923.

AHMEDABAD CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE;

Sabarmati, 30th September 1923.

From :

Major, E. E. Doyle, D.S.O., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent Ahmedabad Central Prison.

To,

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter and Gospel, received from Colonel. Gibbs, for favour of disposal.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) E. E. DOYLE,

Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent.

No. 9466 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda 2nd October 1923.

To,

Colonel G. R. Gibbs, (Retd.), "  
Highway " Comb Down, Bath, England.

Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 1st ultimo together with the Gospel for prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

The Gospel has been handed over to the prisoner and he desires me to express his thanks to you.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) .....

Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Telephone Cal. 2678.

Amrita Bazar Patrica Ltd. 2,

Telegram: " PATRIKA," Cal.

Ananda Chatterjee Lane,  
Calcutta, 30th October 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Ahmedabad.

Dear Sir,

I intend presenting Mahatma Gandhi with a copy of Lord Gouranga (Salvation for all) by my father, the late Sishir Kumar Ghose, the founder and first Editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, for Mahatma's perusal in the Jail. This is a purely religious book, as would appear from the title, which has been highly spoken of by eminent gentlemen of both Europe and America, not to speak of India.

Will you please let me know if I shall send the book to you for your perusal and consideration whether it be a fit book to be presented to the Mahatma in Jail ?

On hearing from you I shall have the pleasure of sending you the book (bound in two volumes).

Thanking you in anticipation and awaiting an early favour.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) Tusar Kanti Ghose,  
3rd November 1923.

No. 10434 of ,1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 3rd November 1923.

From

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Central Prison, Poona.

To

Tusar Kanti Ghose Esq.,  
Amrita Bazar Patrika Office,  
2, Ananda Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 30th Inst. I beg to inform you that any purely religious book sent to me for Mr. Gandhi will be delivered to the latter at once.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

*Bande Mataram*

Punjab Provincial Congress Committee.

No. 6316.

Telephone No. 2202.

Telegraphic Address : —

" SWARAJ ", LAHORE.

Bharat Building,

LAHORE,

27th November 1923.

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Jail,  
Yeravda (Poona).

Sir,

My No. 5277 of the 28th September last and a separate Registered Book post of a copy of the " Bhagvat Puran " in Hindi for the use of Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, has not been acknowledged. I believe it has duly reached you and you handed it over to Mahatmaji. I am sending per separate Registered Cover a bound Volume of " Sant Bani Sangrah " i.e., collections of Saints saying for the use of Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, along with a photo of Shri Krishna and request the favour of your handing him over these religious books for his reading. Please acknowledge receipt and oblige.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) Parshuram Sharma,  
Secretary, P.P.C.C.

Dated 30th November 1923. .

DR.

No. 11343 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated the 1st December 1923.

From  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Secretary,  
Punjab Provincial Congress Committee,  
Bharat Buildings, Lahore.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 6316 of 27th November 1923, I have to state that the copy of " Bhagvat Puran " which you sent in the month of September under your covering letter No. 5277, dated the 28th September 1923, was duly received and handed over to Mr. Gandhi.

The Volume of " Sant Bani Sangrah " along with a photo of " Shri Krishna " which has also been received, will be delivered to Mr. Gandhi in due course.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) .....  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent.

S. Ganesan, Publisher,

TRIPLICATE.

Madras, S. E.,  
19th October 1923.

Dear Sir,

*"Rambles in Vedanta"*

I am sending you by separate Regd. Post a copy of the above book. This is a religious book and am inclined to think that Mahatma Gandhi will be interested in such books. So will you kindly pass it on to him ? To enable him to return the book after perusal. I am enclosing in the pocket an addressed envelope containing II as worth of stamps to cover postage.

Thanking you in advance.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) S. GANESAN

No. 10097 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,

Dated the 24th October 1923.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

Mr. S. Ganesan, Triplicane,  
Madras.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 19th inst., I have to acknowledge receipt of the book " Rambles in Vedanta ", with the remark that it has been handed to Mr. Gandhi for his perusal as per your request.

It will be returned to you in due course.

I am dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) .....

Lt.-Col. I.M.S. Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

No. 11869 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,

Dated the 15th December 1923.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To,

S. Ganesan Esq., P.O. 427, Triplicane,  
Madras, S.E.

Dear Sir,

"Rambles in Vedanta" which was received here on the 24th October 1923 under your letter dated the 19th October and which was acknowledged under this office letter No. 10097 dated the 24th October is herewith returned to you.

Mr. Gandhi desires me to thank you for having sent him the book, and says it has given him much pleasure to read.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) .....

Lt.-Col. M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.



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Dr. J. Lambert Disney,  
Healer-by-Faith and Drugless Physician.  
(Licensed by State Medical Bureau)  
1505, W. Tioga Street, Philadelphia,  
U. S. A.  
November 12, 1923.

Mahatma Gandhi,  
Poona, India.

Dear Sir,

Having read in the Philadelphia evening "Bulletin" that you are interested in religious reading, the writer takes the liberty of enclosing herewith two little pamphlets concerning the beliefs of the Society of friends or rather setting forth the views of two members thereof (since " each member is at liberty to believe what \* \* seems to him to be the truth"). I trust you will find these pamphlets to your liking. Enclosed is also a list of some of my own writings, including some along the lines of faith or psychological healing. Under separate cover I am sending you the three pamphlets named on the second page thereof, viz :

- " The Healing powers of Mind and Nature " ;
- " A Question for Bible Students " ;
- " Healing by Faith or by prayer " ;

If these reach you—and I understand from the newspaper article that you are permitted to read books of a religious and kindred nature — I shall be glad to receive and read any comments you may have to make. Some years ago I spent a number of months travelling through the greater part of India. Also, like yourself (if the newspaper article is correct in its statement), I eat but two meals per day and have taught many to do likewise. So, many have found such teachings as are found in my writing effective in enabling them to heal or prevent disease that I have in mind the possibility that you may find an opportunity for service to your people in teaching them along such lines. If the course on dietetics or on health building through nature's laws, mentioned in list, interest you, I shall be glad to send you copies also, gratis, on request.

Cordially,  
(Sd.) Lambert Disney,

No. 11870 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,

Dated the 15th December 1923.

From

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, CIE., M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona. (India).

To

Dr. Lambert Disney,  
1505, W. Tioga Street,  
Philadelphia, U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

The pamphlets received with your letter of the 12th November have been given to Mr. Gandhi.

The rules do not allow of him entering into a correspondence with you but he wishes me to thank you for your courtesy in writing to him and to state that he will read the literature with much interest.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona, (India).

Telephone : 1231,

H. M. AJMAL-KHAN.

Sharif Manzil,  
DELHI.

Dated 15th December 1923.

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail.

Sir,

Some time ago I sent a parcel of religious books through you to Mahatmaji. Please let me know if it is safely delivered to him by this time.

Secondly I want to know whether Mahatmaji possesses " Sirat-i-Nabvi" by Shibli or not? For this kindness I shall be obliged to you.

Hoping an early reply.

Yours faithfully,

Syed Mohd. Hussain,

Private Secretary to Hakim Mohd. Ajmal Khan.

17th December 1923.

The books were acknowledged under this office No. 10881 of 19th November 1923.

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No. 11958 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, POONA,

Dated the 18th December 1923.

From

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

The Private Secretary,  
to Hakim Mohamed Ajmal Khan,  
Sharif Manzil, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 15th inst. I have to inform you that the parcel of books that you refer to was duly acknowledged on the 19th November 1923 under this Office letter No. 10881 of same date.

With regard to the second paragraph of your letter I am informed by Mr. Gandhi that he has the first volume of Sirat-i-Nabvi, but would like to read the second volume if you would send it to him.

He is also anxious to read the following books.

1. The life of Hazarat Abubaker.
2. The life of Osman.
3. The life of Ali.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

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WOODLANDS, CHEMBUR, KURLA,  
Bombay.

To:

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Poona.

Dear Sir,

I shall feel obliged to you, if you will kindly hand over to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, my book " Fate and Free-Will", I am sending you under a separate wrapper.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) A. S. WADIA.

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No. 9 of 1924.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, POONA,

Dated the 2nd January 1924.

From :

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To :

A. S. Wadia, Esq.,  
Woodlands, Chembur, Kurla, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

*Your Letter bearing no date.*

The above letter from you has been received here today along with a book under separate cover intended for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi, is in receipt of the book and he desires me to thank you for having sent it.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,

Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Buddha Society,  
Bombay.

Namo Tassa Bhagavato,  
Arahato Samma,  
*Sam Buddhassa.*

No. 246 of 1924.

Nair Building, Lamington Road,  
Bombay, 2nd January 1924.

The Superintendent,

Yeravda Jail, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

As president of the Society I am sending few copies of holy books to Mahatma Gandhi for study during his leisure hours. Hope you will deliver them to him and oblige. Please be good enough to acknowledge receipt of the books.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) DR. A. L. NAIR,  
8th January 1924.

Bombay, 5th January 246/1924

*COPY*

Mahatma M. K. Gandhi,  
C/o The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Yeravda, Poona.

Dear Mahatmaji,

I am sending you on Monday the 7th instant care of the Superintendent of the Jail the following holy books on Buddhism which I hope you will kindly accept and oblige.

The Imitation of Buddha.

Shri Buddha Geeta.

The Gospel of Buddha.

The Dharma.

A short sketch of Lord Buddha's Life.

The Golden Rules.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) .....

From : —

Dr. A. L. Nair.

No. 440 of 1924.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
POONA.

Dated the 9th January 1924.

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter dated the 2nd inst, as also the parcel of books for M. K. Gandhi with the remark that they have been handed over to him.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) .....

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,

Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

Dr. A. L. Nair,  
President, Buddha Society,  
Nair Building, Lamington Road, Bombay.

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93, Bazar Gate Street,  
Fort, Bombay,  
21st December 1923.

To  
The Superintendent, .  
The Central Prison, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

As desired by Mahatma Gandhi during my recent interview with him, I have to-day despatched to your address books as for list annexed for parcel post. I have also sent one Sanskrit book for book post, I will send the other books desired by him as they are procured. Kindly hand him over books when you get them.

I hope he has resumed taking fruits and has not taken to fasting

Yours faithfully,  
Mathooradas Tricumajee.

List of Books : for parcel post.

1. Upanishads with Gujrati translation etc.
2. Brahama Sutra with Gujrati translation etc.
3. The Song Celestial.
4. India what can it teach us? M. Muller.

Per book post.

1. Shankar Bhasya on Gita in Gujrati.

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No. 12145 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,

Dated the 22nd December 1923.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

Mathooradas Tricumjee Esq.,  
93, Bazar Gate Street,  
Fort, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 21st inst. I have to inform you that" the parcel of books have been received along with a packet containing a single book. The lot have been handed over to M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi is doing quite well and is not fasting.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) ,.....

Lt.-Col.. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

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No. 123-D, of 1923.  
Bombay, 6th February 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.,  
Secretary to Government, Home Department, Bombay.

To,

The Inspector General of Prisons, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to Government Resolution No. 123, dated the 6th February 1923, sanctioning the rules for the separate division of simple imprisonment prisoners, I am directed to observe in reference to rule 1 that the separate division will be limited to prisoners of special standing and position and will in no case include any offenders who have been guilty of offences involving criminal intimidation

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with threats of violence or involving incitement to crimes of violence or actual participation in violence or offences against property. It will be observed that the separate division has been formed for all prisoners of the required qualifications and in no sense specially for prisoners undergoing sentences for offences relating to political movements and it will in no case include persons hired to commit offences in connection with political movements or who have committed such offences in the hope that opportunities of looting might occur from the resulting political upheavals or persons who have been guilty of attempting by general incitement to seduce soldiers or of actual attempts to seduce soldiers or police officers. It will be necessary particularly to remember these special limitations when recommending prisoners for the grant of the special privileges of the separate division by Government.

2. With reference to rule 4 it will be observed that the Gandhi caps have not been specially precluded and the general prohibition of wearing political symbols has been left to the discretion of the Superintendent of the Prison.

3. With reference to rule No. 7 it will be observed that the privilege of letter writing has been made subject to the model rules\* recently promulgated. It will also be subject to the special orders† issued indicating that no references should be permitted to other prisoners, to jail administration and discipline or to politics. These orders must be strictly observed by Superintendents of Prisons.

4. With reference to rule No. 8 similar remarks apply and repeated publication of matters discussed at interviews would be sufficient ground for withdrawal of the privilege as giving reason to believe that the publication has not been without the express or implied approval of the prisoner. Apart from this, discretion in the matter of interviews has been reserved by the model rules to Superintendents of Prisons.

5. With reference to rule No. 11 it will be necessary to impress on Superintendents of Prisons that the rule has not abrogated the orders contained in Confidential letter No. 1254 D/2875 of the 12th of April 1922, addressed to the Inspector General of Prisons prescribing the punishments of whipping should not be inflicted upon any prisoners undergoing imprisonment under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code or section 124-A or 153-A of the Indian Penal Code without the previous sanction of Government.

6. It will be observed that no specific provision has been made in the rules in respect of the attendance of private medical practi-

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\*Government Resolution No. 2256, dated 15th July 1922.

†Government Circular No. 116. dated 31st August 1922.



tioners. It may however be permitted in a consultative capacity in cases of serious illness, if considered suitable by the Superintendent of the Prison.

7. It has not been thought necessary to provide a special board of visitors for the separate division or to exclude for the present non-official members of the existing boards of visitors.

8. It has already been observed that the separate division has been formed for all prisoners of the required qualifications, and in no sense specially for prisoners undergoing sentence for offences relating to political movements. The terms " political prisoners" and " political offenders " should therefore be studiously avoided by all Superintendents of Prisons and other officers in all official correspondence including in particular reference on this subject to Government.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 4195 of 1923.

YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,

Dated 1st May 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a letter from prisoner M. K. Gandhi. In effect this means he does not wish to avail himself of the privilege of having a monthly letter and interview. He has from the beginning been given special privileges in the way of diet, bedding, etc., and these will continue.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

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*Certified True Copy.*

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 78-D of 1923.

HOME DEPARTMENT :

Bombay Castle, 17th May 1923.

From

J. A. Shillidy, Esq.,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 643, dated the 3rd May 1923 forwarding a letter from prisoner M. K. Gandhi in which he expressed his unwillingness to avail himself of the privileges of a special division prisoner, I am directed to state that the prisoner will be kept in the special division and it is for him to decide for himself whether he will avail himself or not of the special privileges regarding letters etc., attached to the special division.

I have etc.,

**(Sd.) D. O'FLYNN,**

for Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 689 of 1923.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS OFFICE,  
Poona, 19th May 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Copy forwarded for information, with reference to his letter No. 4195 (Confdl.) dated the 1st instant.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Acting Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**No. 3626 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 16th April 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In confirmation of my suggestion made to you on the telephone on the 11th April 1923, and in reply to your confidential No. 581 dated the 13th April 1923, I have the honour to state that I think convict Mansur Ali Sookhta would be an eminently suitable companion for M. K. Gandhi, after release of Banker.

He is an educated and cultured man whose behaviour in prison has been exemplary. He has about seven month(s) to put in before release.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S., Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**No. 4149 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE.  
Dated 2nd May 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that in accordance with your verbal instructions, I have today put prisoner Mansur Ali Sookhta into a cell near prisoner M. K. Gandhi' so that they may be companions.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 3754-D.

HOME DEPARTMENT :

Bombay Castle, 3rd May 1923.

From

J. A. Shillidy, Esq.,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,

The Inspector General of Prison.

*Subject.*—Selection of a Companion for prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your telegram No. 7165, dated the 24th April 1923, I am directed to state that prisoner Indulal Kanyalal Yagnik who has been put into the separate division under Government Resolution, No. 172, dated the 24th April 1923, has been selected by Government as a companion to prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

2. I am to request that you will be so good as to make arrangements for the segregation of all prisoners in the separate division as far as possible in a block by themselves. Mansur Ali will thus also be along with M. K. Gandhi.

I have etc.,

(Sd.) D. O'FLYNN,

for Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 660 of 1923.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 8th May 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Copy forwarded for information and necessary action.

2. Please state what arrangements you have made.

3. Necessary orders have been issued to the Superintendent, Ahmedabad Central Prison to transfer prisoner Indulal to the Yeravda Central Prison.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,

Acting Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 10005 of 1923.

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,

Dated 20th October 1923.

From

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, CLE., M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to Home Department letter No. 3754, dated 3rd May 1923, forwarded with your endorsement No. 660, dated 8th May 1923, I have the honour to report that Mansur Ali is being transferred to Allahabad for release about the 25th inst. He has been M. K. Gandhi's real companion and I consider that a substitute should be obtained as soon as possible. I. K. Yajnik does not appear to possess similar tastes and interests and would not fill the place of Mansur Ali.

M. K. Gandhi, has expressed a desire for the society of Abdul Gani whose transfer to the Separate Division was refused in Home Department letter No. 4361-C dated 27th August 1923. I would recommend that that decision should be reconsidered.

Abdul Gani appears to possess the requisite qualifications for inclusion in the Separate Division and I do not know of any one else now in this Jail who could be sent as a companion to M. K. Gandhi.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

No. 1386 of 1924.  
Yeravda, 5th February 1924.

To  
M. K. Gandhi, Esquire,  
Sassoon Hospital, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to request that you will kindly arrange for your representative to call at this Prison as soon as possible and remove your private property, books, cash (Rs. 160-2-3) etc., and that you will authorise him in writing to give a receipt for the same.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

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*Telegram.*

From,  
Bombay Home,  
Bombay.

To  
Prisons, Poona.

5th March 1923.

"No. 788 reference your memorandum No. 360 of 27th ultimo permission for interview with prisoner Gandhi should be given to Devdas Gandhi but not to the others."

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 397 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE :  
Poona, 6th March 1923.

To  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy forwarded for information and guidance with reference to his No. 2062, dated 26th ultimo.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Acting Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

No. 2375 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE :  
Yeravda, 8th March 1923.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To

Devadas M. Gandhi, Esquire,  
Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

Further to my letter dated 27th February 1923, I beg to inform you that permission has been obtained for you yourself to have an interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi. This permission applies only to you.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 248 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE :  
Yeravda, 12th March 1923.

Dear Sir,

Reference your Telegram dated 8th March 1923.

Prisoner Jairamdas Daulatram was on 12th February 1923 punished for a breach of the Prison Rules and is therefore not entitled to a letter nor is he entitled to an interview for three months from that date.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

Hiranand Daulatram Esquire,  
C/o. Messrs. Gidamal Bhagchand & Co.,  
Merchants, Bunder Road, Karachi.

No. 78-D. of 1923.  
HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay, 14th March 1923.

From,

A. Montgomerie, Esq.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.  
*Subject.*—Interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir.

With reference to your memorandum No. 432, dated the 8th March 1923, I am directed to return herewith the letter dated 3rd March

1923 from Mr. Malang Sahib who requests permission of the Superintendent of the Yeravda Prison for an interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi, and to state that it should be refused.

I have etc.,  
 (Sd.) D. O'FLYNN,  
 for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
 Home Department.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 468 of 1923.  
 INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE :  
 Poona, 16th March 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
 Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy forwarded for information and necessary action, with reference to his Confidential No. 2334, dated 7th March 1923.

2. The original letter from Mr. Malang Saheb is herewith returned.

(Sd.) .....  
 Personal Assistant,  
 for Inspector General of Prisons.

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3rd March 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
 Yeravda Central Jail.

Sir,

I Malang, Sahib, resident of Raj-Hathwan, Thana, Bhore, district Chhapra, most humbly beg to request your honour will be kind enough as to allow me to visit Mahatma Gandhi for which I shall remain grateful.

I beg to remain,  
 Sir,  
 Your most obedient,  
 Malang Saheb.

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To

The Superintendent,  
 Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I request that an interview may be arranged with my father M. K. Gandhi, for the following persons.

Myself, Prabhudas, Lakshmi, Radha, Moti, Ameena, Manoo, Keshav, Krishnadas, Kanti, Rasik, Rukhi, Lakshmi; all children of the family.



---

Please show this letter to my father so that he may approve or modify the list as he desires.  
I shall be grateful for an early reply care of R. Kalyanji and Co., Mint Street, Madras.

Yours faithfully,  
Devdas M. Gandhi.

Sir,

M. K. Gandhi has dictated the following to me.

I would like this letter to be forwarded only if thereby the early consideration of my own letter is not in any way endangered. The letter includes some names already in the list submitted by me. These I have underlined. The remaining names four, include two of my grandchildren, one my cousin's first son and the other the writer of the letter my son. The description given by my son of the party being all children of the family, tho' quite correct from his and my Standpoint, is literally not correct, as will already appear from my letter.

(Sd.) .....  
4th May 1923.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 22 /T of 1923.  
HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Mahableswar, dated 4th May 1923.

From

A Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 664 dated 3rd May, I am directed to inform you that the Governor in Council has no objection to Miss M. V. Patel's name being included in the list of persons referred to in my letter No. 22-T, of today's date from among whom 5 may be permitted to visit prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) D. J. McDONNELL.  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 659 of 1923.  
Dated 8th May 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.  
Forwarded for information with reference to his No. 4196, dated 1st and 2nd instant.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col.,  
Inspector General of Prisons.

Reference this Office No. 4404-D/4th May 1923.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 662-D of 1923.  
Dated 8th May 1923.

F. W. C. for favour of orders in continuation of this office Confidential No. 664, dated the 3rd instant.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col.,  
Inspector General of Prisons,

*Blue Pencil remarks.*—No objection to any of these being included in the five.

A.M. 9/5.

(U.O.R. Dated 9th May 1923).

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 688-D of 1923.  
Dated 19th May 1923.

Below U.O.R. Dated 9th May 1923.

Forwarded with compliments to Major. S. Whitworth-Jones, I.M.S.

Please note the contents in blue pencil made by the Home Secretary and return the papers to this office early.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col.,  
Inspector General of Prisons.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons, Poona.  
Noted and returned with compliments.  
No. 4974, dated 21st May 1923.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Laxmi Dudabhai.

1. Chhaganlal Gandhi (Cousin).
2. Mr. Jamnadas Gandhi. (Cousin).
3. Naraendas Gandhi. (Cousin).
4. Ramdas Gandhi. (Son).
5. Miss Radha Maganlal Gandhi.
6. Rukmi M. Gandhi.
7. Miss Moti Luxmidas.
8. Miss Lakshmi Lakshmidas.
9. Ameena Bavazir
10. Krishnadas Chhaganlal Gandhi.
11. Mrs. Gandhi.

A letter from M. K. G. addressed to the Superintendent asking Government to invite any of the five individuals named above for interview.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 22-T of 1923.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Mahableshtar, dated 4th May 1923.

From

A Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department

To

The Inspector-General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 637 dated the 1st May I am directed by the Governor in Council to state that permission may be granted to any five of the persons mentioned in prisoner M. K. Gandhi's letter, herewith returned, to visit him.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) D. J. McDONNELL,  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 658 of 1923.  
Dated 8th May 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Forwarded for information with reference to his No. 4140, dated 30th April 1923.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col.,  
Inspector General of Prisons.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 4538 of 1923.  
Dated 9th May 1923.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Poona.  
Noted and returned with compliments.  
(with letter attached)

SATYAGRAHASHRAM, SABARMATI,  
Sabarmati, dated 7th May 1923.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind letter No. 4394, dated 4th May 1923.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) Maganlal K. Gandhi,  
Manager.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati, dated 7th May 1923.

Dear Sir,

The time for Mahatmajis next visit has arrived and some days have even passed beyond that. Mrs. Gandhi has directed me therefore to request you to let her know whether Mahatmaji has given you the names of persons for the coming visit, and whether the matter has been finally decided. Awaiting your reply anxiously.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

*Post Telegraphs.*

199.

Handed in at (Office Origin).	Date.	Hour	Minute.	Words. 20
Bombay K	13	19	20	
	Recd here	at	Hours. 21	Minute. 17

To

Superintendent, Yeravda Jail,  
Poona.

Please arrange interview for me with my father sixteenth two thirty afternoon. Devadas Gandhi.

[Interview granted on 16th April.]

No. 4604 of 1923.  
YERAVDA CENTRAL OFFICE,  
Dated 9th/10th May 1923.

To

Mr. Maganlal K. Gandhi,  
Manager, Satyagrahashram,  
Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter dated the 7th May, I have to inform you that any five of the individuals mentioned below may have an interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi any day but Sundays or holidays at 2-30 p.m.

- (1) Laxmi Dudabhai Gandhi. 18th May 1923.
- (2) Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi.
- (3) Mr. Jamnadas Gandhi. 18th May 1923.
- (4) Mr. Narandas Gandhi.
- (5) Mr. Ramdas Gandhi.
- (6) Miss Radha Maganlal Gandhi, 18th May 1923.
- (7) Miss Rukhi M. Gandhi.
- (8) Miss Moti Laxmidas.
- (9) Miss Laxmi Laxmidas.
- (10) Miss Amina Bawazeer.
- (11) Miss M. V. Patel, 18th May 1923.
- (12) Mrs. Gandhi, 18th May 1923.
- (13) Mr. Krishnadas Chhaganlal Gandhi.

Interview granted with five people on 18th May 1923.

Further I have been requested by prisoner M. K. Gandhi to ask you to be good enough to arrange an interview on any permissible day convenient to you.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S..

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati.  
Date, Jail Day 429.  
13th May 1923.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. 4604, dated the 9th May 1923, containing a list of persons of whom any five can see Mahatma Gandhi. With reference to this I beg to inform you that Professor Ananda

Shankar Dhruwa a high authority on religious literature in Sanskrit and a devoted friend of Mahatmaji wishes to see him.

Will you please ascertain whether the prisoner is willing to see the Professor, and if so will you kindly see if you can allow him the visit?

The party of visitors is about to leave in three or four days. If your reply is in affirmative will you please wire, so that the Professor may join the party ? Stamps sufficient to cover the expenses for wire are enclosed herewith.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

No time to obtain sanction if interview must take place within week.

(Sd.) .....  
15th May 1923.

No. 6046 of 1923.  
YARAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 23rd June 1923.

To

Mr. Maganlal K. Gandhi,  
Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter received yesterday, I have to inform you that prisoner M. K. Ganidhi approves of the five names mentioned therein.

I am requested to say he does not desire an interview until July next and wishes to be informed of the date selected a few days before its advent. Please note a Sunday or a Public holiday should not be selected.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati Jail, day 467  
Wednesday.  
Wednesday, 19th June 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Central Jail, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

Will you kindly ask Mahatmaji whether he approves of the following names, out of the list sent last time, for the next interview with him?

1. Mrs. Gandhi.
2. Mr. Chhaganlal K. Gandhi.

3. Krishnadas C. Gandhi.
  4. Miss Amina Bavazeer.
  5. Miss Moti Laxmidas.
- Awaiting your reply.

Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.

Manager, Ashram.  
Sabarmati, dated 3rd July 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Central Jail, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

The party for the next interview with Mahatmaji wishes to have it on the 13th inst. At the same time Mr. Ramdas Gandhi wishes to come instead of Mr. Krishnadas Gandhi and Mrs. Chhaganlal Gandhi instead of Mrs. Gandhi.

I hope you would be kind enough to give a favourable early reply with regard to both these matters.

Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.  
Manager.

No. 6426 of 1923.  
YERVADA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 6th July 1923

To

Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esquire,  
Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 3rd instant, I have to inform you that I have no objection to the two marginally noted persons coming to interview prisoner M. K. Gandhi in place of Mr. K. Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi. At 3 p.m. on the 13th instant will be a convenient time and date.

Mr. Ramdas Gandhi. Mrs. Chaganlal Gandhi
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Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Yeravda North.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 78-V-C of 1923.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay Castle, 5th September 1923.

From

J. A. Shillidy Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.  
*Subject.*—Prisoner, applications for interview with  
M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 1164, dated the 27th August 1923, I am directed to refer to rule 820 of the Bombay Jail Manual published in Government Resolution No. 2256, dated the 28th July 1922, which lays down that the number of persons permitted to be present at an interview shall ordinarily not exceed two but may be extended to five in the case of near relatives of the prisoners, and to state that Naraindas K. Gandhi and Devdas M. Gandhi only should be allowed to be present at the next interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi according to the above rule which should be quoted in the reply to the application for the interview.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant.  
(Sd.) J. A. SHILLIDY,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Central Prison with reference to his letter No. 8147, dated the 26th August 1923, to the Inspector General of Prisons.

No. 8592 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 7th September 1923.

To,

Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esq.,  
Satyagrah Ashram, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 23rd ultimo asking for an interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi, I have to inform you that any two of the persons named in your above mentioned letter will be permitted to interview M. K. Gandhi.

If desired children up to the number of two will also be permitted to be present at the interview.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.



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SATYAGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati, dated 27th September 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Central Jail, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

Mrs. Gandhi has asked me to inform you that she would like to have the second interview in the present quarter with Mahatmaji at the earliest possible date.

Mrs. Gandhi would also like to know if the two ladies Mrs. Avanti-kabai Gokhalay and Miss Tyabji who were left out in the last interview could accompany her.

I hope you will arrange to send me a speedy reply and fix the first possible date suitable to you for the interview.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) MAGANLAL K. GANDHI,  
Manager.

Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

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No. 9423 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, YERAVDA,  
1st October 1923.

To

Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esq.,  
Manager, Satyagrahashram,  
Sabarmati, Ahmedabad.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 27th September 1923, I have to inform you that Mrs. Gandhi will be permitted to interview prisoner M. K. Gandhi in company with any one of the two ladies mentioned in your letter.

The interview can take place any day this month except Sundays and the 19th and 23rd instant they being holidays.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Lt.-Col. I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.  
2nd October 1923.

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SATYGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati, 8th October 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Central Jail, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter No. 9423 dated 1st October 1923 in reply to my application on behalf of Mrs. Gandhi for an interview with Mahatmaji.

Mrs. Gandhi desires me to inform you that she will be in Poona on Wednesday, the 10th and will call at the jail at 2 p.m. in company with Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhalay for the interview.

I am also asked to request you to inform Mahatmaji of the impending interview beforehand.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) MAGANLAL K. GANDHI.  
Manager.

Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Mangaldas Road,  
8th October 1923.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
The Central Jail, Yeravda.

Sir,  
I desire to have a business interview with the prisoner Mr. M. K. Gandhi of your jail. I hope you will kindly grant the necessary permission and fix up some early date. A favourable and early reply will oblige.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) JAMNALAL BAJAJ.

My address is as follows :—

C/o. Seth Ramnarain Ruia,  
Mangaldas Road, Poona.

Interview sanctioned on private business affairs only.

Dated 10th October 1923.

No. 78/VI-C of 1923.  
HOME DEPARTMENT :  
Bombay Castle, 3rd November 1923.

From  
J. A. Shillidy, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To  
G. K. Deodhar, Esquire,  
Vice-President, Servants of India Society, Poona City.  
*Subject.*—Interview with M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,  
With reference to your letter dated the 17th October 1923, to the address of the Private Secretary to his Excellency the Governor, I am directed to inform you that Government are pleased to comply with the request of Mrs. Ramabai for an interview with prisoner M. K. Gandhi if the latter desires that she should be included

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among his next visitors. The interview should be limited strictly to private matters and must not exceed the usual limits prescribed by the rules for private visitors.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) J. A. SHILLIDY,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

SATYAGRAHASHRAM,  
Sabarmati, dated 7th December 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Central Jail, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

Mrs. Gandhi has asked me to write to you requesting that an interview be arranged for her with Mahatmaji at the earliest possible date, since the second interview in the present quarter has been long overdue and it has not been possible for her to arrange to go to Poona earlier.

I am asked to state that she would like to have with her at the interview Mr. Mahadeo Desai and Mr. Vallabhbai Patel.

I am also instructed to enquire whether it is open to Mrs. Gandhi to take with her any four of the approved long list at an interview if she so chooses, without previous sanction.

MAGANLAL K. GANDHI,  
Manager.

Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

No. 11651 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated the 10th December 1923.

From

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esq.,  
Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 7th inst. regarding interview with Mr. Gandhi, you are informed that Mrs. Gandhi may call on any day convenient to her in company with Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and one other non-relative or two near relatives, from among those who have visited him before to interview Mr. Gandhi between the hours

of 2 and 3 p.m. Mr. Desai and Mr. Patel, cannot be allowed to interview Mr. Gandhi unless they first obtain permission from Bombay Government.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

No. 11652 of 1923.

Copy forwarded to G. K. Deodhar, Esq., Vice President, Servants of India Society, Poona City, with the request that he will kindly arrange with Mrs. Gandhi to fix the date on which Mrs. Ramabai may accompany her.

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.  
Dated the 10th December 1923.

No. 11689 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated the 11th December 1923.

From  
Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To  
Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esq.,  
Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,

Further this office letter No . 11651 of 1923, dated the 10th December. Please read that Mrs. Gandhi may bring with her one other non-relative or two near relatives from among those whose names have been approved of by the Government.

These names are shown on the long list referred to in your letter which has been the subject of this correspondence.

The interview should be fixed for any day convenient to Mrs. Gandhi except Sundays and Government holidays.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

Mrs. K. M. Gandhi—Wife.  
Mr. Mathuradas Gandhi—Nephew.  
Mr. Ramdas Gandhi—Son.

The above named alone visited Mr. Gandhi on 18th December 1923.

Mr. Mathuradas gave to understand that he was Jamnadas before he was admitted.

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**MULSHI SATYAGRAHIS' DEFIANCE.****CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1100 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 1st February 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Mulshi Petha prisoners are giving me a great deal of trouble. These men have evidently determined to flout my authority and to observe Prison discipline as little as possible. Almost without exception these men are guilty of the following offences, not committed once and then abandoned, but repeated over and over again:—

- (1) Refusing to work.
- (2) Doing only a ridiculously small proportion of the allotted task.
- (3) Adopting a defiant attitude.
- (4) Laughing and sneering.

I personally see every prisoner admitted to this Prison before his task is decided upon and know the capabilities of each. Those to whom the labour of grinding grain has been given refuse to do their days work, namely the production of 35 lbs. of sifted flour. Some do none at all, others 3 lbs., 5 lbs. and 10 lbs. Holding discipline and Prison Rules up to ridicule by saying "Jitana Karsakta, Itna Hum Karanga".

I punish those men again and again and as severely as possible, but without obtaining any improvement in the general attitude.

This atmosphere of defiance which began in these Mulshi Petha prisoners is spreading and I feel the time has come to make an example of the ringleaders. With this object in view I request permission to flog the worst offenders.

I have at the moment 60 Mulshi convicted prisoners and under-trials.

Out of the last 200 punishments awarded up to 26th January 1923, have been given to the 60 men referred to, and out of 37 standing handcuff and bar fetters (punishments included in the 200) 18 have been awarded to these 60 men. I do not think anything but corporal punishment will effect a cure.

I fully realise the objections to corporal punishment and think It should be resorted to only in exceptional circumstances.

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As a Prison Superintendent, I wish to restore in my Jail that smooth working which until recently has existed. To gain my purpose I must have discipline and this cannot be accomplished so long as the present attitude of these Mulshi Petha prisoners is permitted to continue. I have tried forbearance, I have tried reason too, I have tried punishment, and I have gained no success. The attitude of these men is that they are minor martyrs, suffering for a cause. Each punishment I met out is looked upon as giving an added lustre to a halo. I do not think however that these men are made of such stuff that they would be prepared to buy lustre at the cost of stripes.

There is an organised antagonism and a fixed policy not to abide by prison rules to the smallest possible extent.

To-day there are 35 men undergoing standing handcuffs and bar-fetters of these 20 are Mulshi Petha prisoners.

The 40 undertrials referred to earlier in my letter have refused to obey lawful orders and I have had to lock them up in a barrack to prevent them wandering about, and the latest report now is that they are shouting and shaking the bars of the doors. This will necessitate my imposing handcuffs on undertrials. And in the whole of my prison experience I recall no former case of my having found it necessary to punish an undertrial prisoner.

I append extracts from 16 History Tickets showing the respective individual's name and number, his weight, the task set and punishments awarded.

Several of these prisoners are due for release on the 16th of this month and I therefore request the favour of an early reply to this letter so that permission to flog in the event of bad conduct continually may arrive in time.

I am of the opinion that corporal punishment if permitted will have a marked effect upon the conduct of present undertrials and fresh admissions.

The terms of imprisonment to which these men are usually sentenced is three months. This being so the prisoners cannot have run through five or six graded punishments, until close on the termination of sentence.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1557 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 10th February 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Reference your No. 2212 dated 9th instant, I have the honour to reply as follows :—

" A basket of fruit was received some time ago for M. K. Gandhi from Capt. Banon and returned to sender. Fruit within reasonable limits is handed over when brought by relations, but gifts from outsiders are not encouraged as the prisoner gets all he needs including fruit without their aid."

Further I would remark that in my opinion it would be altogether undesirable to permit these gifts. I should be inundated with fruit in unmanageable amounts, and I see no reason why Gandhi should be so supplied.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 1588 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 12th February 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Central Prison, Yeravda.

To  
The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

In accordance with instructions contained in your No. 257 Confidential dated 20th February 1923, I have the honour to state that the situation at the moment is somewhat better in that there were fewer Mulshi Petha prisoners up for punishment than usual. On the other hand two 2155, 2163 have started refusing to do work of any kind out of sympathy for their "brothers who have been illegally and inhumanely flogged". Of these No. 2155 (classification G. H.) says he wishes to be flogged so that he may see what it is like and in order

that he may not fear coming to prison on future occasions ! He will not state how many strokes he would like, nor how often administered. I recommend that his request be granted to the extent of 20. 2163 should also be made an example of 2156 and 2165 have both refused persistently to do any work since their admission on 3rd February 1923. Saying they do not recognise Government and are ready for torture. I recommend that 2156 be whipped. I would make the same recommendation for 2165 but for the fact that he is not physically fit to undergo corporal punishment.

In conclusion I wish to state that I do not think the desired issue from the present situation will be attained unless you let me deal with cases as they arise, and deal out whipping as they become deserved there and then.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

Dear Mr. Bankar,

Thanks for the garland. When you acknowledge, will you please ask the lady (if the Superintendent permits) whether she is keeping well. I heard from Mrs. Gandhi that she was not quite well of course you will please thank her on my behalf.

Yours etc.,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI,  
No. 827.

CONFIDENTIAL

*Health of Prisoner M. K. Gandhi.*

MEMORANDUM :

Temperature this morning and afternoon normal. Beyond feeling a little weak prisoner complains of nothing and I have no further remarks to make.

24th April 1923.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES.

No. 3920 of 1923.  
Yeravda, dated 23rd April 1923.

From  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
Narayandas Anandjee,  
Karachi.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 17th instant. I have to inform you that adequate arrangements already exist for the provision of all



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articles of food which may be required by Prisoner M. K. Gandhi. I do not therefore think it desirable to take advantage of your offer.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 3931.

According to instructions contained in your No. 22 dated April 1923 and in confirmation of my telephone message of the same date, I have the honour to report that Prisoner M. K. Gandhi is indisposed. On the evening of the 21st he complained of abdominal pain and had slight fever. The abdominal pain has now abated but the fever continues.

This morning it was 100°.

I have examined him and can find no physical signs whatever, and have not yet made a diagnoses. His condition causes me no anxiety.

I will send you a daily report so long as circumstances demand.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
23rd April 1923.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 4226 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 2nd May 1923.

From

Major, S. Whitworth-Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that I am concerned about the health of prisoner M. K. Gandhi. For the past two months his weight has been gradually going down.

On March 11th : he was 107 lbs.

On April 30th : 97 lbs.

He now is somewhat debilitated and is suffering from indigestion. He is a difficult subject to diet for he permits himself to take no cow or buffalo milk, and no meat or fish in any form. I am at present giving him a bitter tonic to try and improve his appetite. I can find no evidence of any definite disease.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. S. D. 778 of 1923.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Mahableshwar, 11th May 1923.

My Dear Whitworth Jones,

Maddock in his report on Gandhi suggests that a dentist should be called in as he found that Gandhi was suffering from commencing pyorrhoea. I am to ask you to ascertain from Gandhi whether he is willing to place himself under Dr. Dexter H. Davidson of 4, Lothian Road, for dental treatment, and, if so, to arrange for Dr. Davidson to attend him.

Maddock has been asked to send in a further report on the 15th and thereafter weekly.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) A MONTGOMERIE.

Major Whitworth Jones,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 686 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 19th May 1923.

**MEMORANDUM :**

With reference to the correspondence ending with this office No. 646, dated 3rd instant the undersigned has the honour to request the Superintendent will be good enough to submit a report on the health of prisoner M. K. Gandhi at a very early date.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Acting Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

To  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 4978 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
21st May 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
Reference your No. 686 dated the 19th May 1923, I have the honour to inform you that the health of prisoner M. K. Gandhi has improved but is by no means satisfactory.

His weight yesterday was 100 lbs., against a normal of about 110 lbs. I have given him six injections, each of 1/3 grain of emetine, and have arranged for Doctor Davidson's assistant to visit him on Thursday next to attend to his teeth and treat his gums. Mr. Gandhi's appetite remains capricious.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 5047 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 23rd May 1923.

From

Major S. Whitworth Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

Reference your confidential No. 8525 dated the 22nd May 1923, I have the honour to report:—

(1) The following Mulshipetha prisoners have been on hunger strike in this prison.

Number	Began	Ended
1844	31st January 1923	15th February 1923.
1844	15th March 1923	21st March 1923.
1844	22nd March 1923	27th March 1923.
1847	8th February 1923	13th February 1923.
2162	10th February 1923	12th February 1923.
2147	10th February 1923	16th February 1923.

(2) On 12th February 1923 prisoner Jairamdas Daulatram told me he had been approaching certain of the Mulshipetha prisoners with regard to their behaviour. This was unauthorized and, as I found out, had entailed a good deal of wandering about the separate yard.

This breach of prison rules was punished by me with seven days Cellular Confinement. The next date prisoner M. K. Gandhi informed me that he had been at the bottom of the affair and felt that he too ought to be punished. I took no action. Here the matter ended. I gave no punishment nor was one imposed by M. K. Gandhi upon

himself. How M. K. Gandhi conveyed his message to Jairamdas I do not know. I asked but received no explanation.

There is a system of wireless telegraphy existing in prisons which it is not possible to control. It will be noted that the Hunger Strikes did not end as described in the "Hindu."

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 5435 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 5th June 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth-Jones, O.B.E., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency, Poona. Sir,  
I have the honour to reply to your No. 723 dated the 4th June 1923 : —  
(a) That Prisoner M. K. Gandhi is in the " Special Class ", and has as companions two other prisoners in the same class.  
He can also converse, if he so wishes, with the convict officers and menials whose duty it is to minister to M. K. Gandhi's wants. Communication with other prisoners is not permitted.  
(b) Authority is Home Department's Confidential : No. 3754, dated the 3rd May 1923, forwarded to this office under Inspector General of Prisons Confidential No. 660 dated 8th May 1923.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 5557 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE:  
Dated 9th June 1923.

To  
Maganlal K. Gandhi, Esquire,  
Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.

Dear Sir,  
In reply to your postcard dated the 6th June 1923, I have to inform you that Prisoner M. K. Gandhi has during the past week gained 2 lbs. and now weighs 101 lbs.

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He is in every respect much better than he has been for sometime and I anticipate progressive improvement.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 6349 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 4th July 1923.

From  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Yeravda North.

To  
Mr. Hiralal Harjiwandas Nalierwala,  
Vejalpure, Broach.

Dear Sir,

In acknowledging receipt of a parcel of mangoes addressed to M. K. Gandhi, I have to inform you that as the Prisoner does not eat this fruit, I have handed the same over to the Medical Authorities for distribution amongst the sick.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 8269 of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE.  
Dated 29th August 1923.

From  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Yeravda North.

To  
Miss Anasuya Sarabhai,  
Ahmedabad.

Dear Madam,

In reply to your letter of the 26th August 1923, I have to inform you that the "Raksha" which accompanied same has been handed over to M. K. Gandhi.

The health of M. K. Gandhi continues satisfactory.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To, The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Yeravda.

ATAMARAM MANSION,  
Girgaum, Bombay,  
Dated 11th October 1923.

Sir,  
When attending to the sore eyes of Mrs. Gandhi last night, we missed the bottle of Boric lotion and an eye-droper.

It may be that these articles have been left in the fruit basket handed over to Mahatma Gandhi.

I shall thank you to please bring this to his notice if they are found. Thanking you for your courtesy.

Truly yours,  
(Sd.) AVANTIKA GOKHALAY

To  
Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhalay,  
Atmaram Mansion, Girgaum, Bombay

No. 9858 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 16th October 1923.

Dear Madam,

In reply to your letter of the 11th inst, I have to inform you that the bottle of Boric lotion and an eye-droper referred to were found in the parcels left here for prisoner M. K. Gandhi and handed over to him thinking that they were intended for him.

However, if you so desire it they can be sent to your address. May I hear from you on the subject ?

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) .....  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

From  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Yeravda North.

No. of 1923.  
YERAVDA PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated 25/26th May 1923.

To  
Godrej and Boyce Manufacturing Co.,  
Near the Gas Works, Parel.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 11th instant, also the parcel containing the two boxes of soap. The soap has been handed over to prisoner M. K. Gandhi as requested.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S..  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison

No. 10155 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, dated the 25th October 1923.

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

Godrej Soap Company,  
Sankli Street, Byculla.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 5th inst.

M. K. Gandhi, desires me to inform you that he is now using the last Cake of Soap from the supply you sent him last. You may send him a further supply if you wish. I am dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) .....

Lt.-Col, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

No. 10394 of 1923.

CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Dated the 2nd November 1923.

From

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, C.I.E., M.D, I.M.S,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

The Manager, Godrej Soap Company,  
Byculla (Bombay).

Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo, as also the six boxes of Soap for use of M. K. Gandhi. I am dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

RETAIL SALES DEPARTMENT,  
C/o. THE CALICO MILLS,  
P.O. Box No. 28.

Ahmedabad, 24th November 1923.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

Under instructions from Mr. S. G. Banker we are forwarding to your address 2 samples of sewing thread on balls and reels manu-

factured by Calico Mills, Ahmedabad, from yarn spun in their own mills. The same are intended for Mahatma Gandhi. May we request you to be good enough to hand over the same to him if it could be done under the Jail rules ?

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) ,.....  
Manager.

No. 122260 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, POONA :  
Dated the 27th December 1923.

From  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To  
The Hon. Secretaries,  
The Central Khilafat Committee of India,  
Sultan Mansion, Dongri, Bombay.

Dear Sirs,

With reference to your letter of the 22nd inst, I have to inform you that the parcel of dried fruits has been received and handed over to Mr. Gandhi, who desires me to convey his best thanks to you for having thought of him.

Mr. Gandhi needs nothing in the shape of fruit, dry or otherwise, as he is well supplied with all that is necessary to keep him in health and strength.

Mr. Gandhi is not working too hard.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

No. 12316 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE. POONA.  
Dated the 29th December 1923.

From  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To  
Manager, Ugadharma Karyalaya,  
Ahmedabad.

Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge receipt of a parcel of Ground Nuts received here addressed to prisoner I. K. Yajnik. It has been handed over



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to him and he wishes me to thank you on his behalf for having thought of him.

No advise has been received of the despatch of the parcel in question as yet, from you.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 86 of 1924.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, POONA,  
Dated the 3rd January 1924.

From

Lt.-Col. J. H. Murray, C.I.E., M.D., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To

The Secretary,  
Shri Gandhi Sewa Samiti,  
General Gunj, Cawnpore, U.P.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter dated the 31st December 1923, I have to inform you that Mr. M. K. Gandhi is in good health.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

BAKUBAI AMBALAL AND CO.,  
65, Apollo Street, Fort,  
Bombay, 9th January 1924.

The Superintendent,  
Central Prisons. Yeravda, Poona.

Dear Sir,

Under instructions from Ben Anusuya Sarabhai I beg to send you herewith a R/R for parcel of fresh fruits, and one lemon squeezer for Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of the same to:—

Ben Anusuya Sarabhai, Mirzapur Road, Ahmedabad.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) I. D. GANDHI.

No. 541 of 1924.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, POONA :  
Dated the 11th January 1924.

From,  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To,  
Bakubhai Ambalal & Co.,  
65, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 10th inst. I regret having to inform you that the rules do not permit of Razors being given to prisoners. I have enquired from Mr. Gandhi as to whether he would like to retain it for his own use, and his reply has been in the negative.

The Razor is therefore returned to you.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

SASSOON HOSPITAL, POONA,  
February 15, 1924.

Dear Colonel Murray,

I have got a copy of the amount of disbursements made on my behalf. I find in it an entry of Rupees seventy as doctor's fees I wonder what this entry could be. No outside doctor came to examine me at my instance. If it refers to the dentist who twice came to examine me during my previous illness, he too came not at my instance, but so far as I am aware, he was sent by Col. Maddock. There seems to be, therefore, some mistake about this entry. I would have remained absolutely silent had it not been for the fact that every rupee spent by me, or on my behalf, comes out of some public fund. I would, therefore, like you to enquire about this entry of Rupees seventy, and let me know what it is about, and how I came to be debited with it.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Replied enclosing Dr. Davidson's receipt of bill No. 827 dated 13th September 1923 for Rs. 70 for services rendered in May 1922.

Advised that if the attendance was not at his request but at the instance of Col. Maddock as part of his treatment of his illness he should claim a refund. Application to be addressed to Secretary, Government, Home Department through Col. Maddock, Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison and Inspector General, Prisons.

(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
16th February 1924.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 2971 of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 8th April 1922.

From,  
Lt. Colonel, R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To,  
The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
I have the honour to request that you will kindly tell me if you have passed any orders regarding prisoner S. L. Banker visiting prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) R. M. Dalziel,  
Lt.-Col., M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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No. of 1922.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 11th April 1922.

Yes. Gandhi asked if Banker might show half an hour how to spin the raw cotton, he promised not to speak to him and I told Mr. Laxton who was then acting for you that Banker could go.

(Sd.) F. MELL,  
M.B., C.M., D.P.H., Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons.

Please return.

No. of 1922.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE,  
Yeravda, 14th April 1922.

Noted and returned with compliments.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 78-3733-D of 1922.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 12th April 1922.

From  
G. Wiles, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,  
The Inspector General of Prisons.

Sir

With reference to your memorandum No. 185, dated the 30th March 1922, forwarding a letter from Anasuyabai Sarabhai addressed to the Superintendent of the Yeravda Prison enquiring about the place of confinement of prisoners Gandhi and Bankar and their health, I am directed to return the letter herewith and to state that a reply may be sent.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) G. WILES,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to the Superintendent, Yeravda Prison with reference to his memorandum No. 2630, dated the 27th March 1922, to the Inspector General of Prisons.

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No. 78-D of 1922.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 4th May 1922.

From,  
J. Crerar, Esquire, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,  
The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the letter from prisoner M. K. Gandhi to Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi which you forwarded for disposal under cover of your endorsement No. Confl./457, dated the 25th April 1922, and to say that it should have been forwarded to Government without delay. The letter should be returned to the prisoner with the intimation that, while it is the wish of the Government that he should be granted facilities for correspondence on personal and private matters, it is necessary to exclude matter likely to become the subject of Political propaganda. The permission to

write letters is intended primarily for communication with his family or friends on personal matters and for the arrangement of private affairs. Information as to his personal wellbeing, work, reading and similiar matters is permissible, but not,

(1) any strictures on the administration of prison, and

(2) any reference to other persons confined in the prison, who have their own opportunities for communication with their families with reference to passage on page 20 to 22 and 60 of the letter he may be informed that he will be allowed for his personal use any books, a list of which has been previously approved by Government.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) J. CRERAR,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 78-D of 1922.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 8th June 1922.

From

G. Wiles, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.

Subject:—Treatment in jail of Prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to your memorandum No. 606-Confidential, dated the 15th May 1922, I am directed to request that you will be so good as to inform prisoner M. K. Gandhi in reply to his letter dated the 12th May 1922 addressed to Government that they are unable to reconsider the conditions (contained in Government letter No. 78-D, dated the 4th May 1922) on which correspondence can be permitted, which are intended to allow of all reasonable latitude for communications relating to the personal health and welfare and the private affairs of the prisoner, and that any letter complying with these conditions will be forwarded to the addressee.

2. The letters addressed to Hakim Ajmal Khan is returned herewith. It should be withheld.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) .....  
for Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to :—

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, with reference to his letter No. 4225, dated the 14th May 1922, to the Inspector General of Prisons.

Accompaniment : —Letter from M.K. Gandhi to Hakim Ajmal Khan dated the 12th May 1922.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 4891 of 1922.  
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,  
1st June 1922.

From

Lt.-Colonel R. M. Dalziel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward to you for disposal a letter written by S. L. G. Banker to Ben Anasuya Sarabhai.

The prisoner is entitled to write a letter.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Lt.-Colonel, M.B., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

(The letter may be despatched on its being attached by a Jail official.)

(Sd.) F. MELI.,  
M.B., CM., D.P.H.,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. 120-9658-D of 1922.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 19th September 1922.

From

G. Wiles, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Superintendent;  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the papers noted in the margin which were forwarded to Government by the Inspector General of Prisons, and to state that you will please return them to the Solicitors Messrs. M. Kola and Company with an intimation

- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 1. | Letter, dated the 25th August 1922 from Messrs. M.Kola and Company, addressed to prisoner M. K. Gandhi |
| 2. | Trust Deed of Ballard Estate—  |

that the rules do not permit you to deliver them to the prisoner.

The letter from the Solicitors to your address is also herewith returned.

I have honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) G. WILES,

Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to the Inspector General of Prisons, with reference to his letter No. 1085-Confidential, dated the 6th September 1922.

MERWANJI KOLA AND Co.,  
14-K, Hummum Street, Fort,  
Bombay, 28th August 1922.

Solicitors and Notaries public.

Telephone No. 2256

Telegraphic Address : " CARAVAN "

*BY REGISTERED POST*

To,

The Jail Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Poona.

*Reference.*—Trust Deed of Ballard Estate Jeynarayan Hindu-mal Dani to Jeynarayan Hindumal Dani and others.

Sir,

We have the honour to send you herewith a letter addressed to Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (Mahatma Gandhiji) together with Fair Draft Trust Deed herein and have to request you to hand over the said letter and the Draft to Mahatma Gandhiji if the Jail Rules permit you to do so otherwise we have to request you to return us the said letter and the draft.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

(Sd.) .....

No. 10044 of 1923.  
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,  
Dated 21st September 1922.

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 25th August I have to inform you that in accordance with instructions received from Government of Bombay, Home Department that rules do not permit of the delivery of the Trust Deed to Prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Yours Truly,  
(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Superintendent of Prisons.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 11467 of 1922.  
Central Prison Office.  
Yeravda, 2nd November 1922.

Returned with compliments—

(1) It is regretted that the letter is not available as it has been torn out by M. K. Gandhi.

(2) As far as I remember it was written by a Mr. IYER who gave an address in Poona City and the purport was to the effect that he (Mr. Iyer) was a person of unheard of force of character and therefore, destined to become a leader of Congress. He also said he entirely disagreed with all M. K. Gandhi did. To me it seemed that the author was a gentleman with Exalted ideas such as exist in General paralysis of the Insane.

(3) The letter was (it was stated in an appendix to the original) first sent to H. E. the Governor for transmission to M. K. Gandhi and it, having been sent back to Mr. Iyer with the intimation it should go through me, was so transmitted and from me to you and finally to M. K. Gandhi. The letter therefore was scrutinised both by you and myself. There was I am convinced no harm in the letter nor in the reply.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
Major, I.M.S.  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 78-D of 1922.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Secretariat, Fort,  
Bombay, 14th November 1922.

From

G. Wiles, Esquire,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons.  
*Subject.*—Correspondence of Prisoner M. K. Gandhi.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your memorandum No. 1321, dated the 7th November 1922, I am directed to



return herewith for disposal the letter dated 12th October 1922 written by prisoner M. K. Gandhi to Ayer, and to state that orders for withholding it have already been issued in Government letter No. 78, dated the 28th October 1922. I am to request that the rule excluding all political matter from correspondence to or from prisoners should be strictly applied.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) .....  
for Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison, for information and guidance.

No. 204 of 1923.  
CENTRAL PRISON OFFICE, POONA :  
Yeravda, 5th January 1923.

From  
Major S. Whitworth Jones, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

To  
The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,  
Reference attached to application from prisoner No. 827 M. K. Gandhi I have the honour to say that there is no trace in this office of the Manuscript mentioned therein. As I understand that all correspondence addressed to this prisoner from the time of his entering this Institution up to the end of May 1922, was forwarded to you. It is quite possible that the Manuscript mentioned is amongst that correspondence.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your Most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Major, I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 28 of 1923.  
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS' OFFICE,  
Poona, 11th January 1923.

Superintendent,  
The Manuscript referred to cannot be traced in this office.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
M.B., Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

YERAVDA CENTRAL GOAL :  
Dated 21st December 1922.

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Goal.

Sir,

Shrimati Sarala Devi Chaudhrani (Mazang Road, Lahore) in her letter handed to me says that she sent about six months ago certain manuscript and wishes it to be returned to her. I have not been given any manuscript from her. If it has been received from her at the Goal, will you kindly return it to her. If it has not, will you kindly write to her to the effect that it was never received.

I am  
Yours obediently,  
M. K. GANDHI.  
No. 827.

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**POST TELEGRAPHS.**

Date 17  
Hour—15 and Minute 30.  
Words—26.

Reed, here at

Hour—16 and Minute 44.

17th May 1923.

To

Superintendent, Central Jail,  
Yeravda, Poona.

Reply express wire care Rajagopalachar extension Salem exact State father's Health first few days and now Devadas Gandhi.

*Copy of a Telephone message to be kept on the Records of this Office.*

Reply of Inspector General of Prisons, Poona, to a Telegraphic message regarding M. K. Gandhi: —I saw Gandhi this morning. He is in good health. Had no complaints to make whatever. He never had any punishment in Jail of any kind. Rumour absolutely groundless and mischievous. Have no idea why it was spread.

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**POSTS TELEGRAPHS.**

Mahabaleshwar Date 19, Hour 9, Minute 15.

To

Superintendent, Yeravda Jail, Poona. D 1173 Private telegram from Bombay stated mischievous rumours current that Gandhi has been flogged in jail and enquiries are being made in Bombay as to probable source of rumours aaa please telegraph whether you can suggest any indication aaa addsd Supdt., Prisons Poona, Bombay Home.

Porto-Novo,  
1st May 1923.

From

Mrs. Esther Menon,  
Porto-Novo.

To

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Poona.

Sir,

I shall be thankful if you can deliver the enclosed letter to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, political Prisoner, in the Yeravda Jail. If the letter cannot be delivered according to Prison rules, it may be returned to me.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) E. MENON.

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*Bunde Matram.*

24th February 1923.

Excuse me for this letter.

Non Co-operators of Surat Kalyanji, Dr. Dixit etc. have forgotten your words and cheating the world. It is very shameful. They give lectures for wearing khadi but they themselves use all foreign articles. If they speak something and do the other, why should the poor people must suffer ? I am not a educated man but, I have written in my village manner otherwise it is better to use all foreign articles. The poor people have given money from their earning for the beni-fit of their country while such fellows enjoying themselves. It is well known that, smart men play a good trick. It is shameful for them to do this. My pen will not allow me to write further in the matter, also I do not like to dishearten you by writing any more.

Yours obediently,  
*Sushi.*

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 78-III-6921/D,  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
Poona, 16th June 1923.

From

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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To  
The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Poona.

Sir,

I am directed to return herewith the letter dated the 2nd May 1923, from one Atma Ram of Faridkot State, to the address of Prisoner M. K. Gandhi, which was received with your memorandum No. 773, dated the 6th June 1923. and to state that it should be withheld by you.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) D. J. MACDONNEL,  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Accompaniment :  
Letter in original from Atma Ram,  
Faridkot State. \_\_\_\_\_

No. 831 of 1923.  
Dated 19th June 1923.

To  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Forwarded with compliments for favour of further disposal, with reference to his No. 5371, dated the 5th instant.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,  
LT.-COLONEL,  
Inspector General of Prisons.

Please return,  
retaining the accompaniment. \_\_\_\_\_

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 5948 of 1923.  
Dated 21st June 1923.

To,  
The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Poona.  
Noted forwarded with compliments.

(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

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Faridkot State,  
Dated 2nd May 1923.

To,

M. K. Gandhi Esquire.

Sir,

It is a matter of satisfaction that our leaders have taken into their hearts the idea of ameliorating the degraded condition of our motherland and with that object in view your activities are directed to the attainment of Sowraj and it is depicted on your mind that Indians are now fit for it. The agitation which you have set on foot for the attainment of the above object has sent not hundreds but thousands of our dear brethren to rot in jail where they are suffering various tortures by the high-handedness of the jail authorities. But as a matter of sincere regret that the people for whose sake the rotting in Jail is so gladly undertaken by the leaders are enjoying quite an easy life without caring for the tortures to which their leaders are subjected. Under these circumstances and due to the attitude of the people any hope to attain Sowraj is far remote and in our opinion the Indians as a matter of fact are not yet fit for such a boon as the Sowraj. It is really very strange to find that a people enjoying a most peaceful and happy life under British Government should think of a revolution as the Sowraj, while considering the existing circumstances they do not all seem fit for what they aim at.

There does not pass a single day without fracas breaking out among the hindus and the mohammedans. This state of affairs would tend one to see that there can be no unity among the above two communities even to the end of the world. In the first place there is no probability of Indians of being granted Sowraj and perchance their wishes are acceded to some future time it is certain that civil wars will be the consequent result.

It is doubtlessly to the credit of the British Government that a goat and a lion between whom natural enmity exists can claim to drink water from one and the same trough. It is impossible for a dominating race to oppress the helpless and men of low social position.

The fact that we have railways, canals and other facilities to travel from one place to another without the least apprehension of being molested is admitted at all hands and is to the credit of the British Government. It is also to the credit of British Government that there are canals irrigating our lands and the like are constructed everywhere and we are freely supplied with water for irrigating purposes.

We can get necessaries and luxuries of life at a very cheap rate. Whereas in former times we could not dream of it.

Then there are post-offices almost in every village. Our communication are so facilitated that a single card costing one pice can carry our message from one corner of India to another. The fact

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is that an affair which could not be accomplished at a cost of thousands is now fulfilled at a cost of a single pice.

The dominions of British Government are so vast that it is believed that the sun never sets on the dominions of the king of England and yet the administrative and controlling policy is so proficient and efficient that it is not excelled in any country on the globe.

The justice and equity are equally dispensed to the rich and the poor. No superior in rank has the audacity to vex his inferiors. The Civil and Criminal Courts have the same road to tread upon and any case of divergence is at once detected and brought to book. It is beyond all likelihood for any body to depart from the right path. This above is the case under British rule.

Let us now come to the rule of native States and as a specimen of their Government I beg to lay before you the rule of the Faridkot State. The town of Faridkot is the capital of a ruling State of the same name under a native prince comprising of an estate consisting of 175-Villages the area whereof is less than that of a Tahsil of a district is under the rule of a prince who is yet a minor. The reins of Government of this State rest in the hands of a Council of Regency consisting of 5 members including its president. All of the above 5 gentlemen constitute the Council. They are Indians. Two of whom are men whose services are lent by the British Government to the State for administrative purposes, one a Mohammedan and the other a Hindu. Their services have been placed at the disposal of the State in view of their being trained Officers of Government so that they might administer justice according to principles and letter of law and might train the State officers already in employ there. But it is sincerely regrettable that the officers lent no sooner they come to the States leave behind all their training and sense of justice and forget all they had learnt under the British Government. Careless of the rules and regulations they associate with their brother officers of the State and all at once ingrain in themselves the manners to which they are addicted and begin to follow their footsteps in the administration of the State. High-handedness and oppression become their practice.

The State administration of a state can well be imagined than described whose reins of Government rest in the hands of the men of a type described above. Their love for restfulness and ease is so high that they cannot live in Bungalows provided at the cost of the state, the lowest imaginable cost whereof is no less than 50 thousand rupees each furnished with furniture costing equivalent sum. Then extravagant habits of exorbitant expenses at the cost of the state do not end here but go still further as they are supplied with vehicular stock and to enjoy it otherwise. Thus the state revenue is entirely laid out for their luxuries without ever caring to lay out any amount for the benefit of the state people in checking the progress

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of plague and other epidemics the visitation whereof which is not unfrequent realises a heavy toll in the form of human life.

As to dispensation of justice and equity the law of the state is different for different communities. A man would die at the door of the officer before he can be furnished with a copy of any order one may stand in need of. This above is the state of affairs placed in the hands of men described above who claim to be fit for Sowraj.

In fact these people care very little to fulfil their pledges and do what they please to enjoy themselves.

The above facts amply prove the incapability and unfitness of our Indian brothers for Self Government. This being the case I respectfully beg to approach you and to beg in the interest of Indian humanity to abandon the march of an agitation for the attainment of Sowraj which not only seems unlikely but impossible and also beg of you pray to the Almighty God to spare our just and benign Government for long long time to come so that we may be able to enjoy their way and protection for thousands of generations.

I am,  
Sincerely yours,  
Atma Ram Agarwal of Faridkot State.

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Oamra Hall, Panchgani,  
1st September 1923.

Dear Mr. Nimbkar,

Last year about a hundred women of Bombay went to the Yeravda Jail on Gandhiji's birthday. We had explained to them that most probably we would not be able to see him but we should go to the Jail doors, as if it was a place of pilgrimage. As a matter of fact we were not allowed to see Mahatmaji but the Superintendent gave him the garlands and flowers we had brought. The Poona ladies more than two hundred I think, had joined us.

Now this year also some Bombay ladies wish to perform this same pilgrimage : Do you think the Poona ladies would care to join us this year also. I remember the members of the Sutsi Committee worked very hard to make the programme a success. Will you please let me know whether you will be able to help us in organising this Poona Women demonstration.

I shall be obliged if you will let me know your ideas on the subject soon, so that I can let the Bombay ladies know how far they can rely on the support of the Poona ladies.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) P. A. D. NAOROJI.

**SECRET**

R.I. No. S.D. 2204,  
dated 6th September 1923.

No. S. B. 1662 of 1923.  
Poona, 4th September 1923.

Copy forwarded with compliments to the *Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special) Deputy Commissioner of Police, C.I.D., Bombay*. District Superintendent of Police, Poona.

(Sd.) H. S. NEEDHAM,  
Personal Assistant to the  
Deputy Inspector General of Police, C.I.D.

With reference to Secretary's query, please see pages 175-181 of file 305(47-B) put up, regarding the ladies demonstration before the Yeravda Central Prison last 2nd October. No instructions were issued to the prison authorities and the deputation's request to interview Gandhi was declined by the Superintendent as he had received no orders from Government to permit the interview.

2. No action seems necessary unless Inspector General of Prisons should be informed D. O. of a similar proposal for this year.

(Sd.) .....  
6th September 1923.

Inspector General of Prisons may see U. O. R. He will presumably follow the same lines as last year.

A.M.  
(Sd.) .....  
7th September 1923.

U.O.R. to I. G. Prisons.  
S. D. 1565, dated 7th September 1923.

**URGENT.**

I think the Superintendent should be told that no interview should be allowed, but that the ladies should be treated with courtesy, as last year, and the garlands and flowers accepted. I presume the Police will be on the look out for any unusual crowd.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

U.O.R. No. 70 dated 8th September 1923.  
I.R. No. S.D. 2243, dated 9th September 1923.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,  
9th September 1923.

H.M.  
H.E. the P.S.G.



*I agree I discussed this last year with D.S.P. Same precautions as last year by the Police.*

(Sd.)G. L.

(Sd.) .....

11th September

9th September.

H. D. (Special)

U.O.R., to D.S.P., Poona, I. G. Prisons and D. M. Poona, in succession.

D. S. P., Poona.

U.O.R. in succession.

I. G. Prisons.

S.D. 1586 dated 12th September 1923.

D. M., Poona.

Passed on to I. G. of Prisons.

The same police arrangements as were made last year will be made. Last year's demonstrations were very orderly, and no trouble is anticipated this year.

(Sd.) .....

12th September 1923.

Noted and passed on to D. M., Poona.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL.

Dated 12th September 1923.

U.O.R. No. 72 of 1923.

**SECRET**

No. 1266 of 1923.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS OFFICE,  
Poona, 26th September 1923.

To,

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

Copy forwarded with compliments for guidance.

2. The Superintendent should make a point of showing these orders to his successor and explain the matter to him.

(Sd.) R. M. DALZIEL,

Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,

Acting Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency.

93, Bazar Gate Street,  
Bombay, 17th October, 1923.

To,

The Superintendent,  
The Yeravda Central Prison, Yeravda.

Dear Sir,

As desired by Mahatma Gandhi through Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj who saw him last week, I have today sent to you a registered book-post packet containing one Sanscrit Book the Chhandogya Upanishad. Kindly hand it over to Mahatmaji and inform him that the second

volume of the Chhandogya with Bhanu's gloss is not in the print and the Brahat Aranyaka Upnishad by Bhanu is not available. I hope he is doing well. I may take this opportunity of introducing myself to you. I am Mahatmaji's sister's grandson. You can write to me if anything is required for him.

Yours faithfully,  
(Sd.) MATHOORADAS TRICAMJEY.

No. 10046 of 1923.  
Dated the 21st/22nd October 1923.

From,  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

To,  
Mr. Mathooradas Tricamjey,  
93, Bazar Street, Bombay.

Dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 17th October 1923, and also the book you sent for Mr. Gandhi, which has been delivered.

The contents of your letter has been duly conveyed to him.

I am dear  
Sir,  
Yours truly,  
(Sd.) S. W. JONES,  
Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

**VERY URGENT**

No. 5397-C. of 1924.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay Castle, 14th April 1924.

From,  
A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
Bijapur District Prison.

Sir,

I am directed to forward herewith a cutting from the " Bombay Chronicle" containing remarks of Mr. Gandhi on the treatment of Mr. Dattopant Majli in Jail, and to request that you will be so good

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as to submit a report to Government immediately through the Inspector General of Prisons.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir, Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) ,  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

Accompaniment : —A cutting from the " Bombay Chronicle " (to be returned).

Copy forwarded with compliments for information to the Inspector General of Prisons.

### **Mahatmaji and the Jail treatment.**

Mahatma Gandhi writes in " Young India " : —

As a fellow-patient I wrote a brief note to Mr. Majli of Belgaum by way of consolation. Mr. Majli as a reader is aware was discharged from Prison, because he was ailing rather seriously. In reply to my note he writes :—

" Your letter in your own hand-writing could not but make me feel at first highly pleased but soon after highly obliged. Yesterday I had as usual high fever lasting for full sixteen hours—I am getting fever every alternate day—but your advice remained stamped on my brain throughout and I succeeded at last in observing silence throughout the period of fever. I am now perfectly at peace in mind but my body is again showing signs of diminishing vitality as a result of the new development of this fever of alternate days.

" I read in the papers an interpellation and a reply thereto regarding the treatment I received. Out of the three facts stated two are mis-statements. I was not given spinning as stated on behalf of Government, but twisting yarn (1 lb., a day), Secondly, I was kept in utter seclusion under lock for all the 24 hours of the day except 15 minutes' walking. Though Government says I was ill, when I was sent to jail, I was refused even the rice diet but given the jowari bread which I could not digest. I leave it to you to give publicity or not because I am not worth anything."

Mr. Majli is a great worker. The readers will share the hope with me that he may be soon free of ailments and himself in harness. Regarding the contradiction the untrained reader may not be able to notice much distinction between twisting of yarn and spinning, as a mere piece of work. The distinction for Mr. Majli was vital. Thousands of Indians to-day regard spinning as a sacred duty and therefore a pleasure, whereas twisting has no such value for them. Whilst, therefore in his weak state Mr. Majli would regard twisting as an insufferable task, he would regard spinning as balm for his afflicted soul and a diversion to take the thoughts of his ailment away. Moreover, whilst a practised worker can twist one pound of yarn without much difficulty, an ailing person like Mr. Majli can

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hardly twist a quarter of a pound. Let the reader understand that I know what twisting yarn means, and as I like physical work I assure him that I do not exaggerate when I say that Mr. Majli can hardly twist a quarter of a pound a day without undue strain on his frail body. The seclusion under lock for 24 hours of the day with 15 minutes' walk in the open was a torture and if Mr. Majli was given jowari bread and refused the rice diet, it was the surest method of making him worse. I do not, however, print the foregoing letter by way of complaint against the Jail authorities, because very often these things happen without any deliberate intention of inflicting hardship on prisoners. What is at fault is the whole system of Jail administration which I have already described as soulless, and much worse is an attempt made by the Government to deny or twist facts. Mr. Majli has apologised for sending the contradiction. There was no occasion for it. He is, after all, a prominent worker in Karnatak. How, nice, however, it would be if every one of us could sincerely say to himself ; " I am not worth anything.". Then we would all be fellow-servants and fellow-workers among whom the only competition would be to do the maximum of work without the slightest desire for gaining prominence or publicity. Swaraj could then be won and run without any difficulty. Innumerable difficulties arise when everyone wants to lead and advise and nobody wants to work.

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*Extract from the Bombay Chronicle dated 6th March 1924, paragraphs 4 and 5.*

A Correction.

Srijut Kowjalgi, President of the Bijapur District Congress Committee, writes:

I was rather pained to see that the editorial headed " One More Victim" in your issue of 23rd February 1924, is likely to create a wrong impression about conduct of the local jail authorities towards Sjt. Majli. I take this opportunity of stating the facts about the whole affair as far as I know them in fairness to the local jail authorities.

Mr. Majli was convicted on the 20th of October last. Being of weak health due to dyspeptic complaints he was given spinning and no task was exacted from him. He was also allowed to read non-political books. He was never kept in solitary confinement.

On the contrary Mr. Divakar of Dharwar was his companion all along. He was given ordinary jail diet on his admission. About the middle of November Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande of Belgaum had been to see him and found him alright then. In the middle of January certain friends had been to see Mr. Divakar in jail, and then it was reported that Mr. Majli was doing well. On the 9th of February Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande again went to see Mr. Majli whom he found to be bedridden then being attended by Mr. Divakar. He had become very weak and was a little excited. The Superinten-

dent was willing to allow any private medical man to visit Mr. Majli. Accordingly Doctor Karkhanis, one of the leading medical practitioners of Bijapur, went to the jail on 12th February 1924, and examined Mr. Majli and found that beyond acute liver trouble, there was nothing serious about him. He was given special diet since the commencement of his illness, and some medicines were also administered to him. During his illness all possible care and attention were shown to Mr. Majli.

It was on the 14th instant that Mr. Majli began to rave for the first time. Dr. Karkhanis again went and saw him and it is reported that the Civil Surgeon of Sholapur had specially come here to see Mr. Majli on the 15th. It is understood that the Superintendent informed the higher authorities of the state of Mr. Majli's health recommending his immediate release on medical grounds and his friends also were kept informed of the state of his health. Mr. Majli was released on the 17th evening as already published. From these facts it will be clear that the local jail authorities are in no way to blame. They were in fact very kind and considerate all through towards Mr. Majli.

We are very glad to publish this correction and to know that, in the case of Mr. Majli, the jail authorities of Bijapur are not to blame as we supposed from all the news which reached us. The whole jail system still remains, and cries aloud for radical reform.

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 208 of 1924.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS OFFICE,  
Poona, 5th May 1924.

To,

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
Copy forwarded with compliments for information—

(Sd.) .....  
M.B., CM., D.P.H.,  
Lt.-Colonel, I.M.S.,

Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

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Post Andheri, 18th April 1924.

Dear Col. Mell,

There is a prisoner in the Sabarmati Central Jail undergoing two years' rigorous imprisonment. For want of a better term he may be described as a political prisoner. His name is Mr. Kalyanji Vithalbai Mehta. He is a co-worker of mine and I know him exceedingly well. I understand that whereas on admission his weight was 102, it is now 92 ; that at one time milk formed an item in his dietary, but for some cause not known to my informant, he has been deprived of milk. My informant tells me-that the prisoner has been deprived also of writing materials, and that although he is able to weave only 12 yards

of strapping, the authorities insist upon his finishing 20 yards. I am loath to publish this information before bringing it to your notice. At first I thought I would write to the Superintendent directly, but finding that he would himself have to refer to you before replying to my letter, I have ventured to send this directly to you, and I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether the information given to me is correct, and if it is not what the true facts are.

Col. Mell, C. I. E., etc.,  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
Poona.

I am,  
Yours truly,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI,

No. 173 of 1924.  
21st April 1924.

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

Your letter dated 18th instant. I am making enquiries in respect of the convict Kalyanji Vithalbai Mehta, at present confined in the Sabarmati Jail, and the result will be communicated to you in due course.

Yours  
(Sd.) F. MELL.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, .  
Andheri, Near Bombay.

No. 2947 of 1924.  
AHMEDABAD CENTRAL PRISON,  
Sabarmati, 22nd April 1924.

Dear Colonel Mell,

Reference the letter from Mr. M. K. Gandhi forwarded under your No. 172 of the 21st instant with regard to convict No. 1859 Kalyanji Vithalbai. I have the honour to state that Mr. Gandhi's informant has not stated facts, not to use a harsher term.

(1) The weight of Convict No. 1859 Kalyanji Vithalbai on admission to this Prison on 20th June 1923 was 92 lbs. and on the 20th April 1924 was 93 lbs. I am sending you his History Ticket in support of this statement. (2) On admission to Prison, Convict No. 1859 Kalyanji Vithalbai stated that for some few days before he was suffering from looseness of the bowels and gave a history of dysentery four years previously. He was therefore treated as a patient and given milk diet and a full course of Emetin. On the 10th July 1923 his diet was changed to Rice, which he continued till 28th August 1923, where on his complaining of diarrhoea, he was given milk 1 lb. daily, and a second course of Emetin was administered. The above diet of milk and rice was continued till the 10th March 1924, when

I considered he required no more special dieting and was fit to eat the ordinary food. The modified diet and the " extra " of milk 1 lb., was therefore stopped. (3) The statement that the prisoner has been deprived of his writing materials is absolutely untrue. He is perfectly at liberty to write if he cares to do so. (4) The statement that the prisoner is made to weave 20 yards per day of Cot Tape is also untrue. He has never done more than 11 yards, and frequently much less. As he made no attempt to increase his task he was formally warned on the 10th April 1924. I may mention that weaving Cot Tape is not a very arduous task, and that the full task is 90 feet per day. So the prisoner in question, who is classed as ' medium labour ' does not do any thing like the half task which he should. The loom ticket showing the work done by the convict in question is forwarded in support of my statement.

I am very glad that Mr. Gandhi applied to you for the true facts as unfortunately, a good deal that is not true often appears in the Press

(Sd.) .....

Major, I.M.S.,

Superintendent, Ahmedhabad Central Prison.

No. 70 of 1924.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS ;  
Bombay Presidency,  
Poona, 1st May 1924.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

In continuation of my D. O. No. 173, dated the 21st Ultimo.

Enquiries in respect of Convict Kalyanji Vithalbhai Mehta were made, and it was found that your informant did not give you the true facts. They are as follows : —

(1) The weight of the prisoner on 20th June 1923 was 92 lbs. and on 20th April 1924 it was 93 lbs.

(2) On admission to Prison he stated that for some few days before he was suffering from looseness of the bowels and gave a history of dysentery four years previously. He was therefore treated as a patient and given milk diet and a full course of Emetin. On the 10th July 1923 his diet was changed to rice, which he continued till 28th August 1923, when on his complaining of diarrhoea, he was given milk 1 lb. daily, and a second course of Emetin was administered. The above diet of milk and rice was continued till the 10th March 1924, when the Superintendent considered the convict required no more special dieting and was fit to eat the ordinary food. The modified diet and the " extra " of milk 1 lb. was therefore stopped.

(3) The statement that the prisoner has been deprived of his writing materials is absolutely untrue. He is perfectly at liberty to write if he cares to do so.

(4) The statement that the prisoner is made to weave 20 yards per day of Cot Tape is also untrue. He has never done more than



11 yards, and frequently much less. As he made no attempt to increase his task he was formally warned on the 10th April 1924.

I may mention that weaving Cot Tape is not a very arduous task, and that the full task is 90 feet per day. So the prisoner in question, who is classed as " Medium Labour " does not do anything like the half task which he should.

I am glad you wrote to me first.

Yours truly,  
(Sd.) F. MELL.

To

Mr. M. K. Gandhi,  
Andheri, Near Bombay.

No. 573 of 1924.  
YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,  
12th January 1924.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

From

The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Central Prison.

To

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that on the 6th instant prisoner No. 827 M. K. Gandhi complained of acute abdominal pain. The acute pain subsided within 24 hours, but there was fever each evening and on the 10th instant there were definite signs of inflammation in the right iliac region. I therefore asked the Civil Surgeon, Poona, to see him on that date and it was agreed to continue expectant treatments. This morning, however, the inflammation signs were more marked and so I again asked Col. Maddock to see him and it was decided that he ought to be removed to Hospital at once as an early operation might be necessary and skilled nursing was essential.

As the matter was so urgent. I transferred him immediately to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona in anticipation of sanction.

I have etc.,  
(Sd.) J. H. MURRAY,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.

No. 12 of 1924.  
Poona, 14th January 1924.

To

The Secretary to Government,  
Home Department, Bombay.  
Forwarded with compliments.

I saw Col. Murray shortly after M. K. Gandhi had left. Put myself in communication with Col. Maddock and was present with



Col. Hooton at the operation the same evening at 10 O'clock. Every thing went off well. Col. Maddock has communicated regularly with me and either phoned to you (when it could act) or wired condition of patient. Latest report this morning was pulse 72, temperature normal, sleep good, slight albumin in urine for that taking some nourishment.

(Sd.) F. MELL,  
Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,  
Inspector-General of Prisons.

Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati.  
12th January 1924.

To,  
The Superintendent,  
Yeravda Jail, Yeravda North (Poona).

Dear Sir,

Your wire of the 12th inst. was duly received for which I beg to thank you ; my mother and I hope that by the time this letter will have reached you my father will have completely got rid of his fever. Further as to visiting him I beg to inform you that my mother and myself or my younger brother Devdas Gandhi will come to see him on Tuesday the 15th inst. between the hours of 2 p.m. and 3 p.m. I hope this will suit your convenience as well as my father's.

Yours faithfully,  
RAMDAS M. GANDHI.

P.S.

Will you please let me know by letter what has been the temperature of fever my father has had from Tuesday last to yesterday date and oblige.

Yours faithfully,  
RAMDAS M. GANDHI.

Post Telegraphs No. 21.

9/-

0.1 Sabarmati 12 22

Supdt. Central Prison, Poona North, Yeravda.

Not Coming Visit Gandhiji please inform his health Daily Till he is quite well.

(Sd.) RAMDAS,

9/35

Reply,

To Ramdas Gandhi, Ashram, Sabarmati. Your father has been transferred to Sassoon Hospital, Poona today.

(Sd.) ,.....

12th January 1924.

*Ordinary.*

To

Civil Surgeon,  
Poona.

Please wire every evening news of patient to Prisons, Sabarmati.

(Sd.) F. MELL,

Prisons.

Sabarmati.

17th January 1924.

(Sd.) .....,  
\_\_\_\_\_**CONFIDENTIAL**

Sir,

Subsequent telegrams will be sent if received papers to be kept in file.

21st January 1924.

State.

TELEGRAMS

Express.

To,

Civil Surgeon, Poona.

" Please wire every evening news of patient to prisons, Sabarmati"

Prisons.

No. of 1924.

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS,  
Sabarmati, 17th January 1924.

Post copy forwarded with compliments to the Civil Surgeon, Poona for information.

(Sd.) F. MELL,

Lt.-Col., CLE., I.M.S.,

M.B.C.M., D.P.H.,

Inspector General of Prisons,  
Bombay Presidency, on tour to Sabarmati.  
\_\_\_\_\_

Prison, Sabarmati.

Mahatmaji slept eight and half hours last night. No fever, wound healthy and discharging normally, taking nourishment well, has slight nasal catarrh.

Surgeon.

Poona.

17th January 1924.  
\_\_\_\_\_

Poona.

Prison, Sabarmati.

Mahatmaji had excellent night sleeping 8¾ hours temperature and pulse normal wound discharging freely general condition quite satisfactory.

Surgeon.

18th January 1924  
\_\_\_\_\_

Poona.  
 Prison, Sabarmati.  
 Patient progressing favourably pulse temperature normal discharge from wound diminishing.

Poona. Surgeon.  
 Prison, Sabarmati. 20th January 1924.

Surgeon.  
 Mahatmaji slept 9½ hours last night general condition continues most satisfactory.  
21st January 1924.

Poona.  
 Prison, Sabarmati.  
 Condition excellent stiches removed wound healed perfectly except portion kept for discharge wound requires dressing once daily discharging steadily diminishing.

Surgeon.  
 22nd January 1924.

\_\_\_\_\_  
*Telegram.*

Surgeon.  
 Poona, 24th January 1924.

State *Ordinary.*  
 Prisoner arriving Poona Saturday morning. Patients' condition need not be wired.

Prisons.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Order**

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 401 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, V of 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to remit unconditionally the unexpired portions of the 3 sentences of 2 years' simple imprisonment, the sentences to be consecutive, passed upon Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi by the Sessions Court of Ahmedabad and which sentences he is now undergoing in Poona, and to direct that he shall be released forthwith.

*By order of His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.*

Given at Bombay, this 4th day of February 1924.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,  
 Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
 Home Department.

To,  
 The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison,  
 The Civil Surgeon, Poona.  
 The Inspector General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.

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**SECTION II**  
**HOME DEPARTMENT.**  
(GOVT. OF INDIA AND GOVT. OF BOMBAY)

**CONFIDENTIAL.**

No. S.D. 962.

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
SECRETARIAT, FORT:  
Bombay, 29th March 1922.

From

J. CRERAR, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

Sir,

I am directed to state for the information of the Government of India that M. K. Gandhi was transferred on the 20th/21st instant from the Ahmedabad Prison to the Yeravda Central Prison, where he is now confined. Since his arrest and conviction, there has been a marked relaxation of agitation but in the event of a recrudescence, his removal from this Presidency may become highly desirable. I am therefore to request that the Government of India will consider the advisability of his transfer to a prison in the province of Burma and, if this course is approved, will communicate on the subject with the Government of Burma.

2. The Government of Bombay do not consider that the transfer of the prisoner is likely to be necessary or advisable in the immediate future but they would be glad if preliminary arrangements could be made so that prompt action may be taken if and when the necessity arises.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) .....

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Political).

*Telegram—P.*

From

The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

No.

, dated the 8th April 1922.

His Excellency the Viceroy has directed me to communicate the following telegram received from the Governor of Bombay for your information. *Begins.* The Government of Bombay have in their letter No. S.D. 962, dated the 29th March addressed the Government of India on the subject of the removal of Gandhi to Burma. His Excellency considers that there are clear indications, since that letter was written, that the extremist agitators intend to use the conditions of Gandhi's incarceration as a means of propaganda and he would therefore be most grateful if His Excellency would instruct the Departments concerned to expedite negotiations and preparations for the transfer. Ends.

Please see the above and the telegram received yesterday direct from Bombay.

2. We have written to Burma enquiring whether they could accommodate Gandhi if necessary. Our letter issued on the 8th instant and will not probably reach the local Government (at Maymo) till the 13th or 14th. We may perhaps wire and inform Bombay of what is being done. Two draft telegrams submitted for approval.

*Draft Telegram.*

Class: Express.

Heading: Political.

No. F. 489/II, 19th April 1922.

From

(Station)	Simla.
(Person)	Home.
(Station)	Viceroy's Camp.

To

(Person) P. S. V.

Repeat to:

Your telegram of 8th April. Transfer of Gandhi to Burma. We have addressed Burma Government by telegram enquiring whether there is any objection to proposal and asking that, if H. E. agrees, preliminary arrangements may be made for transfer, so that if necessity arises action can be taken immediately.

P.6.

*Draft Telegram.*

Class: Express.  
 Heading: Political.  
 No. F. 489-II, April 1922.  
 (Station) Simla.

From

(Person) Home.  
 (Station) Viceroy's Camp.

From

(Person) P. S. V. Repeat to: Burma Government have agreed to accommodate Gandhi in Mandalay jail if necessity for this transfer arises and have informed Bombay Government accordingly. This is with reference to your telegram of 12th instant.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 HOME DEPARTMENT.  
 (Political Branch).

No. F. 498/II,  
 Simla, 8th April 1922.

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma.

Sir,

I am directed to forward for information, a copy of a letter from the Government of Bombay No. S.D. 962, dated 29th March 1922, asking that preliminary arrangements may be made for the transfer of Mr. Gandhi to some prison outside that Presidency should such a step be deemed expedient. It will be seen that Burma is suggested as a suitable province. The Government of India would be glad to be informed whether in the event of this transfer to another province being found expedient H. E. the Governor of Burma would have any objection to transfer of M. K. Gandhi from Bombay to a jail in Burma. I am to request the favour of an early reply to this reference.

(Sd.) .....

*Telegram-P.*

From

The Chief Secretary, to the Government of Bombay;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India. Home  
 Department.

No. Sa/1065.

Dated 8th April, 2-45 p.m.

Please see this Government's Letter No. 962, dated March 29th. Government of Bombay would be glad if the Preliminary arrangements requested were made at the earliest possible date in order to place them in a position to take prompt action, if necessary, at a moments notice, at any time.

*Telegram-P.*

From  
The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;  
To  
The Secretary to the Government of India.

HOME DEPARTMENT.  
Dated the 20th April 1922.

Governor of Bombay in Council acknowledges prompt reply conveyed in your telegram No. 47-C, dated the 12th April, communicating willingness of Government of Burma to accommodate Gandhi in Mandalay jail. Governor in Council is of opinion that immediate transfer of Gandhi would stimulate agitation which at present seems to be dying down ; and is therefore considered inadvisable at this juncture. If situation changes and necessity of transfer arises timely notice will be communicated to the Government of Burma.

2. On transfer to this Presidency Mansur Ali Sookhta will be accommodated in Yeravda Central Prison, Poona. Please intimate in advance when he may be expected. Addressed Government of Burma, repeated Home Department, Simla.

H. D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (M).

The Bombay Chronicle,  
16th January 1924.

*Out of Danger—Too weak to exchange words.*

*Prayer in Poona:—*

*Poona, January 15.—*A very crowded public meeting was held in the Reay Market to offer prayers for Bapu's speedy recovery. Dr. V. D. Phatak and Mr. Nimbkar explained the situation and the President offered prayers.

*(By our special representative).*

*Poona January 15.—*" An ideal Citizen, an ideal Leader, an ideal Prisoner and an ideal Patient" in these words one may sum up the whole record of Mahatma Gandhi. It is no wonder that the whole of India should have been so deeply moved by the sudden and unexpected news of the operation on the Mahatma, about whose

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health we have frequently had disquieting rumours during the past few months. The depth of India's feeling and anxiety can roughly be gauged by the constant stream of inquiries from all over the country. Many telegrams have been received in Poona from Maulana Mohamed Ali, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari and a host of others. When I went up to pay my silent homage to the Mahatma, I found a telegram lying on a small table close to his bed and it appears that this is only one of the many which have been addressed to him direct. Enquiries have been received by the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee and by several prominent leaders of Poona, and in almost all cases these enquiries have been promptly answered.

It is; literally true to-day that the eyes of the whole of India have been rivetted on Poona, which, already rich in historic associations, has been rendered infinitely richer by the presence of the Saintly Leader of India. I do not think it is exaggeration to say that every breath, every syllable which comes from Poona now is waited for impatiently throughout the country. Newspaper correspondents and news agencies are busy broadcasting news of Mahatma's conditions but the craving for news, more news and yet more news is so great that it is impossible to satisfy it. It is natural that the people should want more refreshing news than the dry official bulletins usually contain.

When I called at the Sassoon Hospital in the morning, I saw a crowd of anxious people already waiting there for any news, and I felt very much encouraged by the then latest news which Ben Ansuya gave me regarding Mahatma's condition. I learnt from her at the very outer gate of the hospital that the Mahatma had slept for eight hours and spent on the whole a comfortable night. Mrs. Gandhi had been with him till late at night and early in the morning—soon after the arrival of the Madras Mail at Poona— Devadas Gandhi had called at the hospital and ascertained from the House Surgeon that Mahatma was having a good sleep. On my reaching Poona, Devadas, with his friends Sundaram and Dr. Menon of Porto Novo who had come from Madras, was the first person I met and the news he gave me was certainly reassuring. Thereafter I set about my enquiries with a fairly light heart and called on Dr. Phatak of Mulshi Satyagraha fame—a clever surgeon and an ardent non-co-operator. I had a long discussion with him about the operation and also about the state of Mahatma's health. Dr. Phatak along with the other doctors has been regularly attending on the Mahatma and is always present when the dressing is renewed. As he was also present during the operation, he had much useful information to give.



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**Col. Maddock Promptitude.**

In the course of my conversation with him, I was able to gather that the abscess was hidden deep underneath the intestine and this was revealed on opening up the intestine. Previous examinations, which were more or less superficial, could not reveal anything so serious and the complaint it was assumed, was due to other causes. It seems that the medical authorities, diagnosing on symptoms or by an examination of foecal matter, attributed the complaint either to dysentery or some such secondary cause. It is obvious that the medical authorities were too wise to go deep into the matter and were content with what a superficial diagnosis suggested. I learnt in the course of my enquiry that the abscess if it had been overlooked until it burst might have proved fatal, and naturally when on Saturday last matters came to a head, great anxiety was felt by those who were immediately concerned. Col. Maddock, the Civil Surgeon, was hastily summoned on Saturday to the prison to see the Mahatma, and that officer, by his promptitude, seems to have averted a great national calamity, Col. Maddock had previously been consulted in the case some months ago, and either because he had his own doubts or suddenly suspected, experienced medical man as he is, something far more serious than anyone else could just then imagine, he decided after consulting the jail Superintendent—Col. Murray—to remove the Mahatma to the Sassoon Hospital forthwith and for once discarding all red-tapism, put the Mahatma into his own car and removed him to the Hospital. It appears that the Mahatma had to be carried on a stretcher, so great was the pain experienced by him, and so weak had he become already. It was fortunate that Col. Maddock realised the gravity of the case and acted with such commendable promptitude. Of course, the operation had to be delayed slightly, as the Hospital authorities were not prepared to take the entire responsibility on themselves. Mahatma at first suggested Dr. Dalal of Bombay and Dr. Jivraj Mehta of Baroda whom he wished to be present during the operation. But as time was pressing and as Col. Maddock was against delay, the Mahatma seems to have suggested the names of Mr. Kelkar, Dr. Phatak and Mr. Haribhau Phatak. I don't think Mr. Sastri's name could have been present in the mind of the Mahatma, since Mr. Sastri is not a permanent resident of Poona, and what I conjecture is that he readily consented to Mr. Sastri being sent for when the name was mentioned to him by some one of the medical officer. However that may be, the operation was performed—thank God, successfully,—after certain simple formalities had been gone through. It must have been under a heavy sense of responsibility, and with due regard for the risk they were running that the operation was performed, when the Mahatma had

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been chloroformed prior to the operation, the electric light went off suddenly leaving the whole place in utter darkness, but without much loss of time, ordinary lamps and lanterns were improvised and perhaps a kitson light or two were installed and after the whole operation had been completed, the electric light returned! However, the Mahatma stood the operation well, and I had it from Colonel Maddock that after the operation the Mahatma came down from the table without feeling the effort. He was thereafter removed to a more or less private and secluded ward at a far-off end of the hospital, and was put under the charge of an experienced English nurse. It must have been a very anxious night—that eventful Saturday night—which the medical authorities spent and the next morning when the wound was opened up for a fresh dressing it was found that there was comparatively small discharge of pus. That the abscess was deep down can be inferred from the fact that a six inch tube has had to be inserted at first to drawl off the pus, so as to prevent its mixing with the circulation of the blood. After three days the length of the tube has been considerably shortened and the account which I had from Col. Maddock himself shows that the worst is over and there is not much cause for anxiety. The wound, Col. Maddock informed me just after the dressing this morning, was clean and there was no discharge. Both the pulse and respiration had become normal, though it appeared that on Monday, the pulse had at one time become a little excited. But after the good sleep that the Mahatma had on Monday night there was no particular cause for anxiety. It should, not, however, be imagined that the eight hours' sleep was quite unbroken. The rest has done Mahatma much good and the medical authorities feel encouraged, by the Mahatma's cheerful spirit and readiness to abide by their instructions. As to diet, glucose is being administered, besides milk and honey and sweet lemon juice. Col. Maddock was of opinion that the exalted patient should and could take more nourishment than he is actually doing ; but since the Mahatma has great scruples in regard to his diet, some embarrassment was at first caused to the authorities but this was soon overcome by the introduction of glucose into the dietary. Mahatma took more nourishment than usual and this may be regarded as a very happy sign, and we may hope that the Mahatma will make rapid progress towards recovering his usual strength.

### **Mrs. Gandhi's part.**

When I called on the Mahatma this morning it was without great trepidation, and also an overwhelming sense of anxiety. As I stepped into the room in the excellent company of Ramdas Gandhi, it is easier to imagine than describe my feelings. When we went in the

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Mahatma was in a restful pose, but his face had lost none of that great lustre which has shone with such brilliance at all times. Mr. Chhaganlal P. Nanavaty who happened to follow us up was also present and when we bowed, the Mahatma returned a serene smile. Ramdas mentioned to him just under a whisper the message of love and prayer for speedy recovery from my Editor, with which I had been charged. The Mahatma returned another smile by way of acknowledgment. The Mahatma was very weak of course, and as we had been warned beforehand that speaking accelerated the pulse, we avoided speech and as it was well nigh time for the morning dressing up, we had to take leave of the Mahatma, fervently praying for his speedy recovery. All the time Mrs. Gandhi has been by his bedside and when I went in, she was attending on him, while the nurse was busy getting things-ready for the dressing. There was not a trace of sorrow on Mrs. Gandhi's face, and she bore her trials with the passivity and heroism of a Spartan mother. In the midst of all her mental preoccupations, she had a kind word and a cheerful look for all who called to enquire after Mahatma's health.

In the course of my interview with Col. Maddock, I referred to a rumour which had obtained currency at Poona about Mahatma's being removed in 4 or 5 days' time to Yeravda prison. I mentioned to him how if such a step were taken it would cause a great wave of indignation all over the country. Col. Maddock after listening to me said " It is impossible, and I will not allow it." " Even in ordinary cases," he added, " the usual period would be about three weeks before a patient could be removed from the hospital, and in an acute-case like the Mahatma's it could not be done under a month." He also denied that there was any intention of removing the Mahatma to the Yeravda prison in the present condition. This assurance from the Civil Surgeon came as a great relief to me.

### **Hospital authorities' care.**

One thing that struck me particularly is the extraordinary care and attention bestowed upon the Mahatma by the Hospital authorities. The Mahatma is not at all treated as a prisoner here and the authorities are eager to share the responsibility for his care with the public. Daily bulletins are being issued and posted up on an improvised notice board which reads: " Mr. Gandhi's Health" at the foot of the staircase where people may have the news. There are no restrictions about visitors, except those dictated by a scrupulous regard for the recovery of the August patient. In view of the fact that large number of people from outside are anxious to call on the Mahatma, it is considered extremely desirable such people may not put themselves to the expense and inconvenience of

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a journey to Poona and they would be acting in the best interests of the Mahatma's health and rapid recovery, by abstaining from such purpose, at any rate for sometime to come. This desire of the medical authorities is shared by others also who have been privileged to observe for themselves how exhausted the Mahatma's condition is at present, and it is extremely necessary that he should be permitted to enjoy perfect quiet for sometime to come. It is important to bear in mind that the hospital authorities are doing all they can to aid in the speedy recovery of the Mahatma and on all occasions have freely availed themselves of the aid of an independent private practitioner in the person of Dr. Phatak, who has given his services as a matter of supreme duty. Besides, Dr. Dalai has been here once and is expected again on Thursday morning. Dr. Jivraj Mehta was due to arrive here to-day.

Though Dr. Dalai seems to have felt that it would be a matter of anxiety for at least three or four days more, Col. Maddock assured me this morning that the period of anxiety was practically over and the conditions of the wound this morning had made him feel that the Mahatma was past danger.

The interest evinced in Poona has been very great. I was really overjoyed to find that not only the men in the street but women and children took the deepest interest in the Mahatma's progress. As I was standing with Devadas in the pleasant garden of the Hospital, shortly after I had called on the Mahatma, a little Indian boy rushed up to where we were with the glad tidings that Mahatma was doing much better this morning. The little boy's interest was really very touching, and is only a small proof of the immense love that India bears to the Mahatma.

The Aga Khan who has come down here on a brief visit was making constant enquiries and according to my latest information, he was to have called on the Mahatma this evening personally to enquire after his health.

On the whole, I feel glad that I had the privilege of seeing the Mahatma personally and am enabled to carry with me the mute expression of hope and good cheer silently conveyed by his look and serene smile.

Let the whole of India join on the 18th instant in a fervent prayer to the Almighty for his speedy recovery and early restoration to the country.

*Poona, January 15*— Col. Maddock issued the following bulletin at 7 p.m. regarding Mr. Gandhi's health :—

"Mr. Gandhi had a very comfortable day. Pulse and temperature normal. General condition improving."

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Mahatmaji took 19 ozs. of milk with some coffee and orange juice today. There was no necessity of dressing this evening as there was no discharge. He had sound sleep by day and was looking very fresh.

*Aligarh, January 15—*

Maulana Mahomed Ali, President of the Congress, has issued the following message to his countrymen :—Ever since the news was received from Poona that Mahatma Gandhi was removed from Yeravda Gaol to the Sassoon Hospital for a surgical operation, the Nation has been waiting further news of his health with bated breath. The shock to the nation was almost too great even for prayers, though what every feeling heart has all this time suffered is itself one long prayer to Heaven. But the time has now come that we should organise ourselves to offer a national prayer beseeching the Almighty God to grant complete and speedy recovery to India's greatest son.

Friday the 18th instant being Gandhi Day seems to me to be the most suitable day for the purpose. Musalmans will no doubt offer prayers in their mosques after the Friday service, but I suggest that the joint national prayer of men and women of all communities should be offered precisely at 5 p.m. (Standard Time) all over India and that mass meetings should be organised everywhere for this purpose. I trust my suggestion will meet with the nation's approval and that steps will be taken immediately to act upon it.'

*(From our correspondent: Poona, January 15).*

Dressing of Bapu's wound is going on. Sjt. Devadas Gandhi with Dr. Menon of Porto Novo and Mr. E. A. Sundaram came here by the Madras Mail early this morning. Mr. Chhaganlal P. Nanavaty of Bombay, Mrs. Jamunaben, Imamsaheba are also amongst the arrivals this morning. Mr. P. Venkatram of the "*Bombay Chronicle* " also came here and had a talk with the medical authorities and saw Mahatmaji. Bapu spent a comfortable night having slept for eight hours. Mr. Chhaganlal Nanavaty informed me that he found Bapu cheerful, though weak.

The following telephone message was received from our Special Representative at Poona at 1-45 p.m. on Tuesday ;—This morning I saw Col. Maddock, Civil Surgeon, Sassoon Hospital, and asked him about Mahatma's health. He told me : " Mr. Gandhi passed an excellent night sleeping for eight hours. " The pulse beating is 72 and it is normal; respiration is 18 to 20 and is normal; the wound is clean and there is no discharge ; the tube is shortened. Rumour about Mahatma's removal to Yeravda is emphatically denied by Col. Maddock who told me that as the case is an acute one, the Mahatma will not be allowed to be removed from the Hospital

for a month. He emphatically declared that it was impossible he should be removed and he would not allow it.

There are a number of callers here. Mr. Devadas Gandhi came from Madras last night. Other visitors were all present at the hospital this morning. The Hospital authorities are very anxious that every care should be bestowed on the Mahatma. Hitherto there has been no restriction about enquiry, but in the interest of the patient it is highly desirable that people from outside should not come to Poona to see the Mahatma. I saw the Mahatma this morning. He was weak. He smiled when I went to him. The message of Mr. Pickthall was conveyed to him.

*The Bombay Chronicle*, January 17, 1924.

*(From our Correspondent).*

*Poona, January 16.*—Col. Maddock has issued the following bulletin at 7 p.m. Nothing further to report. Condition as above :

Dr. Jivraj Mehta informed me that the condition is satisfactory. He is issuing a statement perhaps tomorrow. Dr. Phatak saw Bapu, He informed me that Mahatmaji took 18 ozs. of milk, three oranges and twice some boiled rice as nourishment. Temperature and pulse are normal. He is happy and comfortable and had good sleep.

"IN SOUND SLEEP".

Received at midnight through telephone—

*Poona, January 16.*—Our Poona correspondent phoned at midnight that the nurse attending on Mahatmaji informed him that Mahatmaji " is in sound sleep."

*Poona, January 16.*

Handed in at 2-5 p.m.  
received 6-15 p.m.

Dr. Sathye of Bombay is amongst the latest arrivals. Mr. Kirtane, President, Thana District Committee, has sent a message praying for Bapu's speedy recovery.

There was no necessity of dressing the wound this evening as there was no discharge.

In reply to enquiries made by telephone at 5-15 p.m. on Wednesday, our Poona correspondent informs us that Mahatma's condition is highly satisfactory and is giving no cause for anxiety.

The following telephone message from our Poona Correspondent was received at 12 a.m. on Wednesday. Col. Maddock has issued the following bulletin at 10-15 a.m. " Mr. Gandhi had a good night. The wound is clean and healthy. Pulse and temperature normal. General condition is rapidly improving and convalescent diet is allowed."



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*Warning to intending visitors.**Poona, January 15—**(By our Special Representative)—*

Devadas Gandhi has handed me the following statement regarding Mahatma's health: —

I arrived here this morning from Madras and was immediately allowed to see my father. He was hardly able to stand the strain of an ordinary conversation, and in view of the state of exhaustion which I found him in, I felt it prudent not to disturb him with many queries. His own opinion about the state of his health was that he could not be in a better condition, The pulse has throughout been in admirable condition and the fact that the fever left him immediately after the operation must be recognized as the most favourable feature about his health. A great deal will yet depend upon the nourishment, he is able to take, and considering the low state of vitality to which my father has been reduced my anxiety is i.e., that he will not be able to make much progress in the diet soon. This will necessarily delay the healing of the wound.

But what I would like very much to mention is that well-wishers are likely to do more harm than good to his health by hastening to Poona to have a glimpse of him without ascertaining whether they would be permitted to see him. I already find that a number of friends have taken the trouble of coming down here on the off chance of seeing him or getting first-hand information. I hope this rush will cease. It will not at all help matters. Already a number of press representatives have come down here to supply accurate information. The public must be satisfied with the hourly bulletins which the Nationalist Press is issuing. I may also say that Dr. Phatak who is keeping himself in close touch with the patient has warned even the dearest relatives against seeing the patient too often or frequently disturbing him.

*Poona, January 16.—*Dr. Phatak interviewed about Mr. Gandhi's health till 2 p.m. (S. T.) stated Mahatmaji looks healthier and brighter than on any previous day. He is allowed to take to-day soft boiled rice in addition to his usual fruit and milk diet. The moving of bowels without artificial help to-day definitely marks the stage of convalescence. Morning temperature is near about 97; pulse, respiration is normal.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta who has arrived here saw the patient to-day and he is satisfied with his progress in health.

*Devadas Gandhi's thanks—*

Devadas Gandhi stated that he felt highly indebted to Col. Maddock and his colleagues for performing the operation immediately. Their right diagnosis and expert surgical skill had saved the life of his father.

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Mahatmaji is cheerful although weak. Accepting of salutations or speaking of a few words even in recognition of visitors cause great physical and mental exertions which seriously affect his sleep. Several upcountry friends have intimated their desire to come down to Poona to see Mahatmaji but Mr. Devdas has asked his father to request all not to leave their posts of work in order to see him.

Prayers are being made for his recovery.

THAT THE PUBLIC OF BOMBAY, IRRESPECTIVE OF POLITICAL OPINIONS, DEMANDS THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF MAHATMA GANDHI, WILL BE CLEAR (IF IT IS AT ALL NECESSARY) FROM THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEWS WHICH OUR REPRESENTATIVE HAD YESTERDAY FROM SOME WELL-KNOWN PUBLICISTS OF THE CITY. WE REGRET WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAKE ROOM FOR THE INTERVIEWS OF SEVERAL OTHER LEADING CITIZENS BUT IT WILL BE SUFFICIENTLY INDICATIVE FROM THE DETAILS BELOW HOW EMPHATIC PUBLIC OPINION IS ON THE QUESTION OF THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE NOBLEST SON OF THE SOIL.

**"Must not be kept in jail a minute longer."**

*Mr. M. A. Jinnah.*

In my opinion Mahatma Gandhi ought not to be kept in jail a minute longer. As far as I am concerned I had already sent in a resolution to the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly before the sad news of his illness was out. The resolution runs to the effect that " this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that the remaining period of the sentences passed on Mahatma Gandhi be remitted without any further delay." Therefore, you can well imagine what my opinion on the subject is. I am extremely pleased to find from the report in the newspapers that Mahatma Gandhi went through a successful operation and is now making satisfactory progress. I hope he will be soon perfectly well and restored to his family, friends and countrymen.

**"A very suitable opportunity".**

*Mr. M. R. Jayakar.*

I believe the recent circumstances present to the Government a very suitable opportunity for releasing Mahatma Gandhi. The pathetic circumstances connected with his serious illness have largely contributed to produce in the country, a feeling of deep sorrow and anxiety. These have drawn together men of conflicting political views into a common atmosphere of respect and admiration for the saintly Indian. I am sure many Englishmen share this feeling. Mahatmaji's appreciative references to the care



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and tenderness bestowed on him by the European doctors and the chivalrous way in which these medical men have responded to his spirit, have revealed Mahatmaji in a new light, unknown perhaps to most of his non-Indian political opponents. He has been placed, perhaps for the first time for such people, in a perfectly human setting, devoid of political prejudices or racial bias. Gandhi the man if not the superman is now before them. Suffering hushes down all controversies. These are more or less ephemeral. His patient and cheerful suffering survives them all. Government would do well to release Mahatmaji at such a time. The act will be very politic and statesmanlike—the more so because it will be, from the point of view of a jealous Government, free from all adverse political implications, which his release would otherwise raise.

**Release immediately ..... "Without further delay".**

*Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas.*

I want that Mahatma Gandhi should be released immediately. I would welcome an announcement to that effect from Government without further delay. One can understand the Government to put him in jail for a short time owing to the panic created by the Chauri-Chaura and similar incidents. But the circumstances have changed and I don't think authorities will be acting prudently by keeping him in custody any longer. If Government expected that by keeping Mahatma Gandhi in jail the Non co-operation was going to be killed I think Government have had enough time by now to revise their opinion and I do hope that the recent incidents have also opened their eyes and have convinced them that they were wrong in their expectation. We have now definitely come to a point when it is not difficult to perceive clearly that the longer Mahatmaji is kept in jail the greater should be the attachment of the people not only to his personality but also to his creed.

**Government's unique opportunity**

*Sir Dinshaw M. Petit.*

I am strongly of opinion that Mahatma Gandhi should be immediately released. I have always felt that after his lead to the country by the Bardoli programme it was an indiscreet step on the part of the Government to have arrested him and put him in jail after a trial. Government could not have had a better opportunity than the present one to release the illustrious prisoner straight away from the Hospital instead of sending him back to jail. It would be, to say the least, a diplomatic blunder if Government do not take advantage of this unique opportunity.

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**"Release at once".**

*Mr. Jehangir B. Petit.*

There can be no two opinions on the question of Mahatma Gandhi's release. I need hardly say that he should be released at once. It is particularly cruel to keep him in custody after his serious illness and in his present weak condition. I think even without his illness he should have been released long ago. Even assuming that the Government had from their standpoint a good reason for stopping his public activities about two years ago owing to the then excited condition of the presidency, there is absolutely no reason why his incarceration should continue one moment longer when those special conditions have ceased to exist. It is up to all sections of the people in the country—whether they agree with Mahatma Gandhi or not—to make a united demand for his immediate release. If a properly conducted agitation is started I have no doubt that the present Governor, with the indications that he has already given of his career in two recent instances, will respond favourably to the demand of the public.

**Government urged to " Rise to the height of occasion."**

*Mr. H. P. Mody.*

It will be an act of high statesmanship on the part of the Government to put on a higher ground—to release Mahatma Gandhi immediately and restore him to his family as soon as he is out of the hands of doctors. Whether the Government were right or whether they were wrong in imprisoning him is beside the point. It is not an issue which I regard as a vital importance. The supreme consideration to my mind is that it is a great mis-fortune for any country to have a man of such nobility of character and real greatness rotting in a jail instead of taking his proper place in the affairs of the nation. Without in any way identifying myself with Mahatma Gandhi's political opinions I regard him without exaggeration as the most remarkable man on the world's stage at the present moment. And it will be a thousand pities if such a man were to be classed as an ordinary political agitator, or that the Government should be driven to regard his activities as inimical to the cause of law and order. In that view of the case it is immaterial to me whether he was imprisoned on good grounds or bad grounds, and I should strongly urge the Government to rise to the height of the occasion and order his immediate release. They may or may not earn the gratitude of the millions who claim Mahatma Gandhi as their leader. They will at least have acted in consonance with the feelings and wishes of vast masses of Indians all over the country including those who do not see eye to eye with Mahatma Gandhi's politics.

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**" God sent opportunity " to Government**

*Mr. Byaramji Jeejeebhoy.*

I am of opinion, that Mahatma Gandhi should be released at once. It will be indeed a very graceful action on the part of the Government, not only as an administrative act but also as a policy if he is not sent back to jail. It is a God-sent opportunity for Government to win public opinion and good-will, and they would be committing nothing short of an egregious blunder if they allowed this opportunity to pass. Already people have begun to appreciate the fairminded-ness and straightforwardness of the new Governor and I earnestly hope that he will seize the opportunity for life-time to bridge the gulf between Government and the people by immediately announcing the release of Mahatma Gandhi.

*(By our Special Representative)*

*Poona, January 15.*—There is one point about Mahatma's health which has not been thoroughly elucidated hitherto and that is in regard to the complacent attitude of the jail Authorities and the Government. According to the "*Navajivan*" of Ahmedabad, until Saturday evening last Mahatma's wife and sons were kept in ignorance of the real state of Mahatma's health. Only a day before the Mahatma was removed to the Sassoon Hospital, Ramdas Gandhi was informed by the Jail Superintendent; "*Your father suffering from ordinary fever. No cause for anxiety. You can see him when you like.*" (Italics are mine) And fancy the next day, the Mahatma is removed to the Hospital on the authority of the Civil Surgeon, disregarding all the formalities of red-tape. From what Col. Maddock told me during my interview with him, it was quite clear that the jail authorities had not realised the seriousness of Mahatma's complaint until Col. Maddock took the step hitherto almost unprecedented in the annals of British rule in India—of removing a prisoner to the Hospital on his own responsibility and deciding upon an immediate operation.

It was only after the Mahatma had actually been removed to the Hospital that the Jail Superintendent informed Ramdas to that effect. What is pertinent in this connection is that the jail authorities—and our good friend the Director of Information—had-*tried* until the last movement to lull the public into the belief that there was nothing serious the matter with Mahatma's health and that his complaint was of an ordinary nature.

When some weeks ago, a request was made to the jail authorities and to the Bombay Government to allow certain private doctors, in whom the public had confidence to examine the Mahatma's condition, the authorities—who were undoubtedly dominated by the ex-Governor's *penchant* for burying the Mahatma alive—refused the request and, if I remember right, tendered the gratuitous

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assurance that the Mahatma had been examined by "competent" medical men and that he was in very good health!

In view of this assurance, it is no wonder that the sudden news of the operation should have shocked the public all over the country.

The question naturally arises then whether the authorities were anxious to conceal the state of Mahatma's health from the public, or whether they failed to exercise due care. Ever since the Mahatma was confined in the Yeravda jail, he had never been in good health, but on the contrary, has continuously lost weight and suffered from frequent attacks of illness. It is obvious that the water of Poona did not agree with his constitution, but the Bombay Government were, it seems, determined to keep him there.

From enquiries I made of Dr. Phatak, it became clear to me that at a previous examination of the Mahatma's condition, Col. Maddock who had been summoned for the consultation, had some suspicions of his own, though perhaps he could not then be certain in his mind about the real nature of the Mahatma's complaint, and perhaps he was prevented by the conflicting opinions expressed on the case by other medical men present, including, I believe, the Surgeon-General, from asserting them. So that when Col. Maddock was summoned on the present occasion, his doubts must have been strengthened by His observations of the symptoms, and as is now sufficiently well-known, he promptly decided upon a course which has won for him the grateful approbation of the whole of India.

Dr. Phatak explained to me at some length the pathological causes which prevented the discovery sooner, of the development of the abscess. The jail medical authorities contended themselves with superficial observations judged from symptoms, which were obviously not comprehensible to them and attributed the patient's suffering to secondary causes such as fever, dysentery and so on. Dr. Phatak seemed to think that these attacks were only subsidiary, and if a careful examination had been made at an earlier stage, it might have been possible to discover the trouble and either to avoid the operation altogether or reduce the risk of an operation to a minimum.

From the point of view of the people of India, who revere Mahatmaji there has been undoubtedly gross negligence on the part of the authorities in this matter and a searching inquiry seems necessary. It is possible that the Government of Bombay might have been misled by the jail medical authorities in respect of the Mahatma's condition, but one fails to see why, if the Government of Sir George Lloyd had sufficiently realised their responsibility, they should have remained impervious to all criticism, and in the face of a persistent demand for unofficial medical examination, they denied the opportunity to the relatives and friends of the Mahatma of ascertaining

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his real condition. That the prison medical authorities were inclined to make light of the Mahatma's ailments is shown by the curt message sent by the Superintendent of the Jail to Ramdas Gandhi, only a day before the operation. It is likely that had not Col. Mad-dock taken the responsibility on himself, the jail authorities would have continued to labour under the delusion that the matter was not at all serious.

However, all's well that ends well. Thanks to the promptitude of the Civil Surgeon and the subsequent co-operation of all the authorities concerned, we have to-day satisfaction of viewing, with less anxiety the rapid progress of the Mahatma towards convalescence. I pray that the Mahatma may soon be restored to his normal health.

It may interest the readers to know that Col. Maddock was delighted that there had been no untoward development subsequent to the operation and there is no doubt that the courageous bearing and abstemious habits of the Mahatma have contributed to the rapid progress that he has been making. Even nature seems to be on his side, and the pleasant weather which being experienced here should help the early healing of the wound.

It is pleasure to know that the Mahatma is surrounded on all sides by friends. The hospital authorities seem to realise that they have the privilege of sheltering under their roof not an ordinary mortal, but one of the noblest souls on God's earth. He is surrounded by affection and good will. Please God, ere long the Indian nation will be able to give the Mahatma a welcome such as few men have ever received.

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(The *Bombay Chronicle*—January 18, 1924).

### **Mahatma's Condition.**

Signs of rapid improvement: No cause for anxiety.

Views of a High Medical Authority.

Immediate Release Urged.

(by telephone).

*Poona, Midnight.*

Our correspondent phoned to us at Midnight that Mahatmaji is sleeping and that the fever has slightly come down.

There is no anxiety.

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*Poona, January 17.*

*(From our Correspondent) :*

Received, at 8 p.m.

Col. Maddock issued the following Bulletin at 7 p.m.: —

"Mr. Gandhi has a temperature of 100.6. Pulse 82. Wound shows no sign of inflammation. Before dressing the patient complained of a little pain. The pain has now all gone. General condition good. Took food well."

Dr. Dudley, House Surgeon, assured me that the temperature need cause no anxiety.

*(From our Correspondent):*

Received, 9-45 p.m.

"I consulted a high Indian medical authority with regard to the high temperature (viz. 100.6) of Mahatmaji, and he informed me that there is no cause for anxiety. The drainage tube that was inserted this morning was shortened in the evening, and the temperature, therefore, will go down by and by, as soon as there is complete drainage of the pus." *Poona, January 17.* Received 10 p.m., January 17.

Mahatmaji took about 16 ozs. of milk and some pulp of sweet lemon. He had taken no rice to-day. Enema is given and purgative will be administered to-morrow morning. This morning at the time of dressing a tube was inserted in the wound for complete drainage but it was shortened in the evening. He slept well in the noon. Associated Press: *Poona, January 17, at 2 p.m.*

Dr. Phatak interviewed about Gandhi's health up to 2 p.m. stated: " The wound is all right but to prevent discharge being pent up tube has been inserted to-day as precaution. Being not accustomed to solid food Mahatmaji is being given his usual liquid milk and fruits to-day. He has slight ordinary cold which is being attended to. So far his progress towards speedy recovery is excellent."

We received the following telephone message from our Poona Correspondent at 11-15 a.m.:

Col. Maddock issued the following bulletin at 9-30 a.m.:—

" Mr. Gandhi slept eight and half hours last night. No fever. Wound healthy and discharging normally. Taking nourishment well."

Dr. Phatak informs me that Mahatmaji took 18 ozs. of water with lemon-juice last night. Passed 10 ozs. urine in bed-pan with flatus. Looks highly cheerful.

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*Confidential—Study.*

Consider orders about his visitors. How long is the selection to remain at the discretion of the Civil Surgeon ? Does he consult the I. G. P. ?

Sec. H. D.

M. H. W.,  
HAYWARD.

It is time to limit severely the number of visitors allowed to see Mr. Gandhi. He is in custody and though prison rules have been relaxed in view of his serious operation, there is no reason why his sick-room should be made a place for pilgrimages. It is announced that Shaukat Ali intends to visit him.

I propose that Government should now issue orders to Colonel Maddock that with the exception of Mr. Gandhi's own family no visitors should be permitted other than those allowed by Government. All requests to visit Mr. Gandhi should be referred to Home Department for sanction. This will protect Colonel Maddock who has had a very difficult task keeping off the crowds of would be pilgrims. If we let the thing go on any further the impression will arise that all the ordinary prison restrictions have been removed and when once such an impression has arisen, it becomes increasingly difficult not to acquiesce in it as a fact.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE.

H. M./H. E.

I agree. Gandhi is now progressing well and the responsibility in respect of visitors must be taken by Government. Col. Maddock must be told to use the telephone or telegram freely in referring applications to Government.

H. M.

H. E.,

*I agree. Col. Maddock must at the same time be given some latitude as I understand that the effect of a refusal to allow certain visitors causes general excitement and rise of temperature. Col. Maddock's recommendation that Mr. Gandhi should or should not see certain visitors ought to be in the main, the determining factor.*

(Sd.) L. WILSON.

24th January.



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No. S.D. 106.

Bombay, 24th January 1924.

My dear Maddock,

Government are of opinion that the time has come to limit the number of visitors allowed to see Mr. Gandhi. Now that he is progressing so well it does not seem fair to put on you the responsibility of deciding what is practically a political matter. Mr. Gandhi is still in custody and it is undesirable that an impression should grow up that all restrictions have been removed. Once such an impression has arisen it becomes increasingly difficult not to acquiesce in it as a fact. I am therefore to request that you will restrict the visitors to Mr. Gandhi's own family circle. Requests of other persons should be referred to me for sanction. Make the freest use of the telephone or telegram in referring such applications. You will of course be given some latitude on medical grounds and if you think that a refusal in any particular case would have an adverse effect on Mr. Gandhi's health your opinion will in the main be the determining factor in deciding whether sanction should or should not be given.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE.

To

Lieut.-Col. E. C. G. Maddock, M.D.D.B.Ch. (Edin.),  
D.T.M, D.P.H., F.R.C.S., I.M.S.,  
Civil Surgeon, Poona.

H. D. (Spl.), No. 355 (35)-N.

H. D. (Spl.) Note-

It is for consideration now whether any arrangements should be made to give Gandhi a change of air, preferably out of prison, when he leaves Hospital or whether it would not be, all things considered, best to release him.

His illness has redoubled popular interest and concern in him and we may expect strong, if not intensive, feeling to be aroused if he is sent back to prison when he is well again. The question is, is it worth keeping him in prison any longer: is Gandhi in prison, in the circumstances and in view of the general situation, a greater force than when at large?



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It would be a matter of great difficulty to arrange for a change for him outside a prison. On the other hand even before his illness his health was a continual source of anxiety. It is possible that the operation he has undergone may tend to improve his health all round. On the other hand there is the probability that his further incarceration may finally undermine his already weak constitution and it would have less political effect to release him later, when further incarceration has demonstrated the need for his release, than now when there is a general feeling of gratitude at the care and attention which he has received and is receiving at the hands of Government.

Kenya and the vagaries of legislation affecting Indians in South Africa are practically the only matters around which sustained agitation is likely to centre at the moment, except perhaps the Akali movement in regard to which it is difficult for us to say anything definite. The Khilafat question, thanks to the confusion imported into the matter by the tactics of the Angora Government, offers very little scope for arousing any enthusiasm against Government and Gandhi's transparent honesty will find it almost impossible for him to steer a middle course between the Charybdis of the pro-Council party and the Scylla of the no-changers. He has not the airy conscience of Mahomed Ali who declared the Councils *haram* and yet tacitly supports Council entry, no matter with what end in view ; professes non-violent non-co-operation and yet advocates the boycott of British goods which Gandhi has consistently stated is against the tenets of non-violent non-co-operation. And it cannot be gainsaid that Gandhi at large will be a restraining force against the adoption of violent methods which the more extreme sections are beginning to coquette with. There are other all-India considerations which urge Gandhi's being released now when such a suitable opportunity affords. There would be much political advantage in the "Key to Yeravada " proving to be Gandhi's illness and Government clemency rather than, as the non-co-operators would wish it, the force of popular agitation and clamour backed, I say it with all respect, by a Labour Party in power. Undoubtedly the Government of India's position would be immensely strengthened by the release of Gandhi now.

It is for orders whether in the first instance the Surgeon-General and the Civil Surgeon, Poona, should be asked for a very confidential report, after a thorough examination of Gandhi's condition, say in a week's time, whether they consider there would be any real danger to Gandhi's health if he were sent back to Yeravda on his recovery. Superintendent of Yeravda might also be asked to report in consultation with Colonel Maddock and the Inspector General of Prisons whether he considers it essential that Gandhi should be

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allowed any greater latitude in prison than he has hitherto enjoyed and in what direction.

As Gandhi's release or further incarceration has a powerful bearing on All-India politics, a reference to the Government of India would appear necessary before any definite action is taken one way or the other after the receipt of the Medical Officers' report. *Secretary's Note:—*

The Chief Secretary tells me that it will be a month or so before Gandhi is completely well. Undoubtedly his illness has complicated the situation and his reincarceration will be looked on as a very harsh step. The main point to bear in mind is that his imprisonment is much less a penal measure than political segregation. Except for the absence of the adulation which he receives outside his present life in prison is probably as congenial to him as anything he has ever experienced, so that there is no question of retribution or reform in his case. He has not "learned his lesson" like Savarkar nor is there any hope of his accepting release under conditions. The question to be decided is whether he is as much of a danger as when he was arrested. I know of no reason to believe that he will not come out, if released, with some visionary scheme, based on sound moral grounds and advocated with absolute honesty which will set the country again by the ears and lead to all the old bloodshed and commotion. It is unlikely that he would accept any conditions of any kind. It is extremely difficult to estimate the results of his release in the state of political parties at present. One of the results would be to put a break on the Ali Brothers. It is unlikely that Shaukat would bluster as he has been doing. On the other hand Shaukat's natural tendency to violence is leading to discredit him and to frighten the waverers. A very great part of the strength of himself and his brother come from their clever adoption of Gandhi and their lip service to his propaganda of non-violence. And they would probably join up with him again at once thus regaining much of their lost ground.

The release of Gandhi would also be a serious set back to the Swaraj party in the Council. He must still I imagine be strong against any form of co-operation and there is a fair probability that one of his first acts would be to reprimand the party who have entered the council for their defection. This would set the Maharashtra party by the ears and rouse the wrath of Kelkar and his followers. Gandhi's incarceration has given the Dekkan party a chance to reassert themselves though there is still a strong dissentient minority who stick to Gandhism. The result might be to drive the Poona Brahmin group more towards responsive co-operation which would tend to make the Swarajists in the Council more reasonable in their attitude. I draw attention to the

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note of the D. I. B. of 16th January at P. 9 *ante*. This indicates that if Gandhi is kept in prison much longer we may expect a break-away from non-violent non-co-operation. The result will be mass civil disobedience and a display of the real nature of the movement which might prove salutary. But it is dangerous to embark on a policy of letting things take their course merely in order to show what they will lead to.

With regard to the weight to be given to the popular demand the note in the Bengal Council on the release of prisoners arrested under the Regulation for anarchial crime is noteworthy. It indicates that demands of that kind may receive the support of the moderate and liberal elements who lay claim to a monopoly of political sanity, in cases which the Government of India's telegram indicates that they have not fully appreciated the grounds on which this Government has come to its conclusion. They suggest that this Government has been actuated mainly by the danger of disturbances in Bombay and that it is trying to get a decision on an All-India question on a fully local issue. That is not so. The possibility of trouble in Bombay was only a minor issue in the whole question. At the same time the Government of India have no right to say that serious rioting in Bombay is not an All-India question. The reason for Gandhi's imprisonment was the danger of just such disorder as we may anticipate from his reincarceration and the fact that it is likely to be in Bombay does not make it any the less an All-India question. The Government of India's proposal is one for the continued imprisonment of Gandhi in more pleasant circumstances than those in which he has been kept up to the present. That may be quite a logical course but it does not meet any of the arguments in favour of his release. These arguments may be reported to the Government of India along the lines of the accompanying draft. It is somewhat lengthy but the time is so short that there should be no possibility of any further demand for explanations.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE.

2nd February.

H. M.

H. E.

(Sd.) LESLIE ORME WILSON.

3rd February.

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**Confidential**  
**TELEGRAM.**

No. D-233, dated Delhi, the 19th January 1924.

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
Home Department;

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY,  
Political Department.

It is recommended by the Government of India that the Government of Bombay should consider the appointment of Medical Board to report on the probable effect on Mr. Gandhi's health on his return to jail after period of convalescence. Should the Government of Bombay concur, it is important, in view of the political situation both in India and in the United Kingdom, to make it clear that the action taken represents the spontaneous decision of the authorities in India. To ensure this, it is advisable that an announcement should be made either at once or at a sufficiently early date. It is requested that the announcement may state that the decision was arrived at after consulting the Government of India and with their approval. Information as to the constitution of the Board and the precise terms of reference, may, it is requested, be forwarded to the Government of India in due course.

*Note—*

This has the merit of frankness. The Government of India want to put themselves right with a possible Labour Government at home and they want to make sure that they get some share of the credit in India.

Whether Mr. Gandhi is sent back to Yeravda or not is a matter which would normally depend on our regular medical advisers. We would naturally ask them whether in view of the history of the case his health would be seriously endangered if he were sent back. If their report were in the affirmative, he would naturally be released without conditions. If they reported that he was fit to suffer imprisonment he would naturally be sent to complete his term. The public pronouncement of the appointment of a Medical Board which the Government of India suggest would be more than this. It would be a public pronouncement that Government were seeking some way of shuffling out of their own responsibilities. Why should we take any steps before we would do so in the normal course of events, namely,

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when Mr. Gandhi has so far recovered that the question of sending him back or not is a practical one to be solved on purely medical grounds? No one has so far suggested that Government will send Mr. Gandhi back to Yeravda unless and until he is fit to go, and any such announcement as the Government of India suggest would be a plain admission that there are other than medical considerations involved in the question of his release. Everybody knows that there are, so why not say so? The fatuous camouflage suggested by the Government of India will deceive no one and though it might stave off a telegram of enquiry from the India Office it will gain them none of the credit from their solicitude for his health which they desire in India. Our Medical (and even Jail authorities) have already got the cream of that. The Medical Officer in charge of the case and the Surgeon General who is also personally acquainted with it are all the Board that is needed and all they should be asked when Mr. Gandhi is completely convalescent is whether or not he is in sufficient health to stand the mild degree of restraint to which he is subjected in Yeravda. Any other course would be a reflection on them.

The pros and cons for his release on political grounds can be discussed later. I put up a draft telegram.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE.  
21st January.

Approved as modified in pencil.

(Sd.) H. H. W. HAYWARD.

**Secret.**

*Telegram.*

No. S.D. 89, dated 22nd January.

To

Home, Delhi.

Your telegram No. D-233 of the 19th instant. Government of Bombay do not consider that any good purpose would be served by the announcement of the constitution of such a Medical Board at an early date. They consider that any pronouncement of the kind indicated would be premature. It is well-known that Gandhi's condition is such that at present and probably for the next six weeks no decision could be arrived at as to whether his release should or should not be recommended on medical grounds, and any such announcement at the present moment would gain no credit in political circles and will only be regarded as an attempt to pave the way for an evasion of the political issue stop. If the Government of India so desire there would be no objection to their

announcing in the coming debate in the Legislative Assembly that the Government of Bombay will take every step which it would take in the case of any other prisoner for assuring itself of Mr. Gandhi's physical fitness for imprisonment before reincarceration. But this Government would strongly object to any premature announcement which would prejudice the subsequent consideration of the political advantages or disadvantages of reincarceration, and this matter which has been discussed by the Governor in Council is to be discussed again when Gandhi's medical advisers can give a date when some definite decision as to his medical condition could be arrived at.

Bombay Home.

O/C

Secretary to Government.

*Note.*—Draft finally approved by H. M. and H. E.

*Telegram.*

Desptd. Delhi Reced. Bombay Reced.  
in S.B. 10-40 hrs.

Desptd. 25th Jan., Reced. 26th January.  
No. D-192, Poll., dated 25th January  
1924.

From—Home, Delhi; To—Bombay, Home, Bombay.

Please refer to the correspondence ending with your telegram No. S.D.89, dated the 22nd January 1924; Gandhi.

In view of the persistent and wide spread demand for the release of Gandhi and with special reference to the necessity of determining the attitude to be adopted in meeting the resolutions on the subject on the 4th and 5th February in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, the Government of India have found it necessary to review the situation and to consider the line of action which should be followed. They have arrived tentatively at the following conclusions:— Grounds necessitating measures to secure the cessation of Gandhi's agitation remain substantially unaltered and no action would be warranted which did not provide a sufficient guarantee on this point. The only alternatives are his continued detention in prison or an undertaking from him to refrain, during the unexpired period of his sentence, from activities falling within the scope of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code or other-wise hostile to Government. They consider that the course which appears to have the most advantage would be to tender him a remission without conditions in the legal sense of section 401, Cr. P. C. on his giving an undertaking to the above effect, the-precise terms of which may require fuller examination. If as must

be regarded as probable, Gandhi declined to give any such undertaking, the position of Government, in the event of their deciding on reincarcerating him, would be strengthened. On the other hand, if the undertaking were given, there does not appear to be any reasonable doubt that it would be duly observed.

This considerations relate solely to the question in its political aspect and are independent of considerations on medical grounds which must, of course, be treated on their merits when the opinion of the Medical Board is available. The Government of India also recognise that no final decision, which must necessarily be based on all the relevant data, can be arrived at until medical opinion is obtained.

The Government of India would be glad to receive the views of the Government of Bombay, without delay, on these points. They agree that the announcement of the appointment of a Medical Board may be deferred for the present.

[True Copy]

(Sd.).....,

Acting Superintendent,

H. O. (Spl.).

12-10 hrs., 26th January 1924.

Submitted with previous papers.

2. With reference to the consideration relating to Mr. Gandhi's release on his undertaking to refrain from political activity hostile to Government, attention is invited to Mr. Sastri's statement on the interview he had with Mr. Gandhi. Please see also the attached cutting from the *Times of India* of today (26th January).

See also portions marked off in blue chalk in Secretary's note on page 4 *ante*. Gandhi will accept no conditions and in view of his deliberate statement to Mr. Sastri no offer of conditions can be made.

Copies of this immediately to H. M. and H. E.  
(by special message).

Then resubmit.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE.

Resubmitted after action as above.

(Sd.).....

26th January 1924.



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(*Times of India*, 26th January 1924).

MR. GANDHI'S RELEASE.

A CRITICAL VIEW.

(*By a political vagabond.*)

When there is said to be a universal demand on the part of the people for the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi, it is risky— risky even to one's life to strike a note of discord, rather disagreement. But when the temptation to express oneself on the question is so irresistible one cannot help doing so even at the risk of his life.

Before I deal with the question of release, I shall with your permission deal with the nature of agitation for the release which has been set on foot after the successful operation was known to the public. As you have very aptly remarked, the present agitation is irrational and unreasonable, considered from a political stand-point, all sentiments apart. That it is so will be evident from an honest answer to the question what is the basis of the present agitation? Did a leaf move to show that people wanted the release of Mr. Gandhi before the news of his operation was known to them? Where were they those who have burst themselves with the greatest concern for the life of "the greatest living man in the world"—hiding for the past 22 months so as not to be able to agitate for the release? Did the courage of the gallant Knight Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy so desert him as to make him so dumb as not to be able to express himself when he realised that it was a "blunder" when the Government decided to prosecute Mr. Gandhi? Is it that the 22 months imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi has softened the hearts of Messrs. Devadhar, N. M. Joshi, P. C. Sethna and Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas? It is due to these public men to declare the ground on which they demand the release of Mr. Gandhi. If it is based on the state of his health the proper thing, under the circumstances, would have been to ask the Government to take away Mr. Gandhi from jail surroundings and put him amidst those best suited to his body and health and not for his unconditional release, because Mr. Gandhi has been convicted on his own confession of "guilty". If it is based on some political ground, the public are entitled to know it because God alone knows what extraordinary political event has happened in the country since Mr. Gandhi was operated upon on the night of the 12th January 1924. Or again, is it based on the implied wish of Mr. Gandhi as seen in the word which he is reported to have whispered to the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri? These are his words: "If there is an agitation for my release after the operation, which I do not wish, let it be on proper



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lines". Be that as it may, those who now demand the unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi have not made out a case. If his poor condition of health is their whole case, they do him the greatest injustice because by asking for his release on that ground they make him an object of pity in the eyes of the Government, at the very idea of which the self-respect of Mr. Gandhi would furiously revolt. It speaks little credit to the capacity of the agitators to carry on such a hollow agitation. All talk of "good opportunity" for the Government as if the Government were waiting for an opportunity.

Coming to the question of release, there is little doubt that there can be anyone who will not welcome Mr. Gandhi out of the prison and in view of the altered political conditions in the country Mr. Gandhi would have had an unconditional release had he not expressed himself in the way he did to Mr. Sastri. "My quarrel with the Government", he is reported to have said "is there and will continue so long as the originating causes exist. Of course, there can't be any conditions. If the Government think they have kept me long enough, they may let me go. That would be honourable. If they think I am an innocent man and that my notices have been good, that while I have a deep quarrel with the Government I love Englishmen and have many friends amongst them they may release me. But it must not be on false issues."What does this statement mean and what is the psychology running through it? It means briefly that the cause of Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment is still there. Its psychology is that if the Government repent of their action (this is echoed in the use of the words 'amends' and 'blunder' by Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy) let them release Mr. Gandhi. In view of this statement will any earthly Government offer an unconditional release and can any man having an elementary idea of political Government expect it reasonably? When Mr. Gandhi has himself pleaded ' guilty' it is very surprising how he could have wished for an unconditional release.

It is said that some members in the Legislative Assembly have given notice of a motion to remit the unexpired portion of the imprisonment period. While Mr. Gandhi has withdrawn nothing or has not changed his "angle of vision" will those members feel sincere in asking for his unconditional release ? Perhaps not. It will be extremely silly under these circumstances and in the face of Mr. Gandhi's statement quoted above, on the part of responsible leaders and especially on the part of members of the Assembly to urge for an unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi. If the Assembly votes for the unconditional release it will be stultifying itself. The personality of Mr. Gandhi should not blind the members of the Assembly to their duty and responsibility.

Now, there is a corollary to the question of Mr. Gandhi's release. If Mr. Gandhi is released every other political prisoner who is in prison as a result of following the teachings of Mr. Gandhi, should be released. I trust some member in the Assembly will move an amendment or a separate motion to this effect. In the eyes of law at least are not Mr. Gandhi and the humblest prisoner on the same level?

To my mind, it appears that an unconditional release of Mr. Gandhi is an event of extreme contingency. If it happens none will be more pleased than myself. If not, may I suggest to the Government of Lord Reading to adopt the middle course lying between sending Mr. Gandhi back to prison and his unconditional release, namely to intern him in the place he selects as best suited to his health and to allow him ample activities to carry on the constructive programme which he chalked out at Bardoli just before his prosecution. I trust that the Government of India has as much imagination as is necessary to visualise the meaning of my suggestion.

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Decision of Executive Council held on *28th January 1924.*

*Agendum—*

Reply to be sent to No. D. 192-Poll., dated 25th January 1924 regarding M. K. Gandhi.

Resolved that drafts as allowed by H. E. be forwarded to Government of India and to Civil Surgeon, Poona.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE.  
28th January.

H. E.

(Sd.) L. WILSON.  
28th January.

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**Governor's Letter to Col. Maddock.**

Col. Maddok,

*The Governor in Council desires a full official report to be sent at once with reference to the state of health of Mr. Gandhi.*

*The Governor in C. wants an information on the following points:—*

- (1) *The present state of Mr. Gandhi's health following the operation.*
- (2) *Without taking into consideration any political consideration, the recommendation which you would make as to Mr. Gandhi's future treatment to ensure, as far as you possibly can, his complete recovery.*

(3) *Should, it not be possible for you to make any recommendation owing to any uncertainty due to his present state of health, information as to when you consider it would be possible to do so.*

*Gandhi has already been indirectly approached and he absolutely refuses any idea of release unless unconditional.*

*It is however possible that he will consent to be sent for convalescence for 6 months to a hill station in presidency and when still a political prisoner there under supervision would agree not to take any part in politics.*

*Governor in Council proposes to ask for medical report from Col. Maddock, for his recommendations as to future medical treatment. It is probable Col. Maddock will recommend as above. Governor in Council would propose to act on this medical advice but wound will not be healed, for 3 weeks and he cannot be moved at once.*

*Governor in Council would be glad to hear if Government of India would approve of adoption of this course—any discussion as to his release on reincarceration being postponed. Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council here can be informed that Government of India are acting solely in Gandhi's interest on medical advice given by Col Maddock who operated on him. Governor in Council anticipates. that atmosphere for decision as to further action will be much clearer in 6 months than now.*

*Meeting of the Executive Council held on the 28th January 1924.*

Subject.	Decision.
Reply to be sent to the telegram from the Government of India Home Department, No. D. 192 Poll., dated the 25th January 1924, regarding Mr. M. K Gandhi.	Resolved that drafts as altered by His Excellency be forwarded to the Government of India and to the Civil Surgeon, Poona

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. S.D./38.

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL).

Bombay, 29th January 1924.

Copy forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

Home Department (Special).

No. S.D. 132.  
Home Department.  
B. C, 29th January 1924.

To  
The Civil Surgeon, Poona.

Sir,

With reference to your daily reports indicating the early convalescence of M. K. Gandhi, I am directed to request you to submit a special report as early as possible as to the particular arrangements, if any, which would, in your opinion, be necessary to secure his complete convalescence when sufficiently recovered from the effects of his recent operation to be removed from Hospital. The special reports should be submitted as early as possible through the Surgeon General and should state specifically whether you would recommend on medical grounds his removal to some place other than Poona as for instance some hill station as in that case immediate steps would have to be taken to secure suitable accommodation for him by Government.

Fair copy immediately.  
(Sd.) .....

I have, etc.,  
Secretary to Government.

*Telegram.*

No. , dated 28th January 1924.

To

Home, Delhi.

Your No.

D-192-Poll., dated 25th January.

Bombay Government agrees that circumstances have not so far altered that Gandhi's complete release from restrictions can be contemplated. But they do not consider it feasible to extract any undertaking which would be acceptable to Gandhi and would at the same time debar him from political action if released. They have ascertained confidentially that Gandhi would probably be willing to be detained in some suitable place provided he remained technically a political prisoner. He would in that case feel bound in conscience to abstain from any political activity. But he would hardly consent to be his own jailor for that would be to accept conditions. He would insist on maintaining though merely formally and technically his position as a prisoner of Government. Any such offer as the Government of India contemplate would be in effect an offer of conditional release and would not effectively strengthen Government's hands any more than a definitely conditional offer,

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Bombay Government consider that this would not be the time to make any such offer. But the Governor in Council understands that Colonel Maddock would recommend on purely medical grounds that Gandhi's reincarceration in a prison should be postponed for six months and that he should be sent for that period to some suitable place such as a hill station. The Governor in Council would be glad to have the concurrence of the Government of India in such a proposal. By the end of that period the political situation will probably be much clearer and the question of his future detention can then be considered.

In the meantime Legislative Assembly and local Legislative Council may be informed that in any decision that may become to the Governor in Council will act in closest consultation with Colonel Maddock who is in medical charge of the case, but no question of immediate release can be considered. If in the debate in the Assembly stress is laid on the participation of Moderates and Independents in the agitation for release the irresponsible vote of the Bengal Council on the release of anarchical prisoners under the Regulation may be used effectively to discount the weight to be given to such participation.

Bombay Home,  
Secretary to Government.

CONFIDENTIAL.

URGENT.

From

Lt.-Col. C. MADDOCK, I.M.S.,  
Civil Surgeon, Poona.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.  
(Through The Surgeon-General to the Government of  
Bombay).

Sir,

In reply to your No. S.D. 132, dated 29th January 1924 I have the honour to state that in my opinion it is very desirable for Mr. Gandhi to be sent away from Poona for convalescence when he has recovered sufficiently from the effects of his operation.

Mr. Gandhi on being questioned on the subject suggested that he might be allowed to proceed to the seaside and that Tithal or Dumas in the Surat District would be most suitable, and with this I entirely agree. A Bungalow situated near the sea-shore would I think meet the case best

I would not advise a hill station as I do not expect his recovery to be complete before the advent of the rains, in any case not within six months of leaving hospital.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C MADDOCK, Lt.-Col., I.M.S.,

Civil Surgeon, Poona.

Poona, 30th January 1924.

Forwarded with compliments—

The U/S has pointed out to Col. Maddock that Dumas is not in British Territory, and that the question of accommodation at Tithal may be difficult, but agrees that from the medical point of view either would meet the case.

(Sd) ,.....  
Lt.-Col, I.M.S.,  
Offs. Surgeon-General.

Telegram.

No. S.D. 142, dated 31st January 1924.

To

Home, Delhi.

Reference my clear the line telegram of 28th without number regarding Gandhi. Following correspondence has been exchanged between Civil Surgeon, Poona and Bombay Government: (1) Bombay Government to Civil Surgeon "With reference to your daily reports indicating the early convalescence of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, I am directed to request you to submit a special report as early as possible as to the particular arrangements, if any, which would, in your opinion, be necessary to secure his complete convalescence when sufficiently recovered from the effects of his recent operation to be removed from Hospital. The special report should be submitted as early as possible through the Surgeon-General and should state specifically whether you would recommend on Medical grounds his removal to some place other than Poona as for instance some hill station, as in that case immediate steps would have to be taken to secure suitable accommodation for him by Government" (2) Civil Surgeon to Bombay Government: "In reply to your No. S.D. 132, dated 29th January 1924, I have the honour to state that in my opinion it is very desirable for Mr. Gandhi to be sent away from Poona for convalescence when he has recovered sufficiently from the effects of his operation. Mr. Gandhi on being questioned

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on the subject suggested that he might be allowed to proceed to the seaside and that Tithal or Dumas in the Surat District would be most suitable, and with this I entirely agree. A bungalow situated near the sea-shore would I think meet the case best. I would not advise a hill station as I do not expect his recovery to be complete before the advent of the rains, in any case not within six months of leaving hospital".

Surgeon-General endorses Civil Surgeon's view as to suitability of Dumas or Tithal from medical point of view though he has pointed out to Civil Surgeon that Dumas is not in British territory and question of accommodation at Tithal might be difficult. Dumas is out of question as it is in State territory, but Government are informed that on medical grounds, Belgaum, Dharwar or Varsova would be equally good. Shall be glad to have Government of India's comments on my above mentioned wire very urgently.

Bombay Home,  
O/c,  
Secretary to Government.

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GOVERNMENT HOUSE, BOMBAY.  
February 1924.

Dear MONTGOMERIE

I am sending you herewith a minute of dissent to the decision taken in Council on Monday the 28th January.

I am to say that His Excellency wishes it to be recorded on the file.

I also send copy of Friday's decision initialled by H. E.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) C. G. ADAM,  
(P. S. G.).

A. Montgomerie, Esquire, C.I.E., I.C.S.

We are of opinion that there has been a considerable change in circumstances since the conviction of Mr. Gandhi. The Swaraj party have come into existence some of whom were his staunchest followers. They have practically openly declared that they have now no faith in the no-change policy. It is hardly likely that these men would again follow the old programme. The refusal to release would give the Swarajists the opportunity they have been seeking of getting the independents and a large number of moderates to join them in wrecking the constitution. Comparing the atmosphere that would be created by his release and by a refusal to release we have come to the conclusion that the soundest policy would be



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to announce his release before the debate in the Assembly. The consequence of refusal will probably result in carrying on Government by certification and may endanger the whole Reforms while at the worst if Gandhi's action after release led to disorder he could still be proceeded against, which action would be supported by sane opinion.

31st January 1924.

(Sd.) C. V. MEHTA.

(Sd.) COWASJI JEHangIR.

So far the question of Gandhi's release has been dealt with mainly from the medical side. We have submitted to the Government of India a proposal which would effectively deal with that on the supposition that the political question is definitely postponed for decision.

It remains to be decided whether on political grounds there is a case for his reincarceration. This appears to be a question on which much can be said on either side and it is important that all aspects of it should be thoroughly explored before the debate in the Legislative Assembly. If there are good grounds for it politically it should be done at once before there is any suggestion of Government being pushed into it and while there is still time to save something. If the Government of India decide to accept the verdict of the Assembly they can only do so unconditionally. But if we can make some arrangement by which we cut Gandhi out of politics for six months while at the same time announcing his unconditional release we shall get the practical advantage of his continued imprisonment and also the credit of his release.

At the outset it must be recognised that his present imprisonment is not really penal. It is merely segregation from political life in surroundings which there is every reason to believe he has found very congenial. His case differs therefore essentially from that of Savarkar. There we had the guarantee that Savarkar had felt the full terror of prison discipline and his past experience might be relied on as deterrent. We have no such guarantee in Gandhi's case. The punishment he has undergone will not deter him from doing again as he did in the past. The only questions to be determined therefore are (1) whether he is now as great a danger as he was or (2) it will not be a greater danger to send him back to prison.

In favour of keeping him in prison are :—

(1) his past history.

(2) his declared intention of maintaining his quarrel with Government.



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I leave out of account the actual fact of his conviction. Technically he was guilty of sedition. Actually he was put away not because of the violence of any particular article but because his continued liberty was a danger to the country. His high ideals and moral earnestness, twisted and distorted by men much cleverer than himself for unscrupulous purposes and working on the minds of the people incapable of distinguishing between a spiritual warfare against a satanic Government and physical assaults on the unfortunate police subordinates of that satanic Government produced over and over again disorder and bloodshed. There is no guarantee that this spiritual warfare which he assured Mr. Sastri was still to be waged will not have the same physical results as at Dharwar, Malegaon, Bombay, the Punjab and Malabar. These results came without his volition. They may do so again and they impose a grave responsibility on any Government which contemplates running the risk again. Mr. Gandhi may come out of Jail to find that his imprisonment has been a time of peace and he may draw either of two inferences: (1) which we believe to be correct, that the peace is the direct result of the imprisonment of himself and his political associates the Ali Brothers or (2) that it indicates that his spiritual suffering in jail has worked mysteriously to purge the hearts of the people of violence and they are now despite all the lessons of the past, fit for mass civil disobedience. He will have the instance of our unfortunate experience in Borsad to support him in that view. The results might easily be disastrous. We know that the Ali Brothers and their friends were working at Cocanada in connection with the volunteer movement towards mass civil disobedience and if Gandhi's influence were added to theirs there would be little hope of stopping it. At the same time this is only a speculation. He has not the unscrupulousness of the Ali Brothers and it is quite possible that the care and attention he has received both in jail and in hospital may have weakened him in his opposition to Government. He will find it more difficult than in the past to draw his fine distinctions between Government and the personnel of Government because so far as I know all the Government officers he has met since his imprisonment have been uniformly kind and courteous to him. In favour of his release are the following considerations: —

(1) the universality of the demand throughout India from all sections of political opinion.

*[Per contra.* The Bengal vote on the release of anarchical prisoners shows that on occasions it may be necessary to refuse to demands however universal.]

It is a difficult and dangerous thing for Government even on the Reserved side which is not responsible to public opinion to appear to flout such a general demand. We may leave out of

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account the Swarajists and declared opponents of Government. But can we afford to alienate our friends, even though, as we believe, the demand to which they have given their adherence is largely the result of sentiment? It may be perfectly true that the illness of Mr. Gandhi is a circumstance which should not logically have impelled them to make this demand. But they have committed themselves and their loyal support in the past gives them a right to some weight in the counsels of Government. A bare negative may drive them into the opposition camp and produce a solid front against Government which may easily produce a constitutional crisis which the enemies of Government may use to produce results as disastrous as any which could follow the release of Gandhi.

(2) The restraining influence which Gandhi would exert on the Ali Brothers. It is unlikely that with Gandhi at large Shaukat and the rest of them would bluster and preach violence as they have been doing recently. It is true that the effect would be to minimise our chances of putting the Ali Brothers and their friends away again, and this time in right earnest. But that is a suggestion which ought not to weigh against Gandhi.

(3) His release might well be a set-back to the Swaraj party. His attitude towards them must be a matter of speculation. He must still, I imagine, be strong against any form of co-operation and a strong reprimand from him of those who have back-slidden into joining the Councils would much diminish their influence. It would set the Maharashtra party by the ears and rouse the wrath of Kelkar and his followers. They have had a chance to reassert themselves while he was imprisoned. They are a party of potential violence and Gandhi's ascendancy, by showing them into the back ground and compelling them to devote their energies to undermining his position rather than to open violence against Government would be a distinct advantage.

(4) And this applies particularly to Bombay. Gandhi's return to prison or even his transfer to any other place of detention might easily lead to out-break of violence. Just at the moment when Government is to decide whether Gandhi is to leave hospital as a prisoner or a free man we may have 150,000 strikers in the streets of Bombay, hungry and ready to be fanned into acts of violence. The Bombay riots showed us what a number of roughs and black guards are at the disposal of the *soi disant* followers of Gandhi and the results might be appalling. If the risk of releasing Gandhi is great enough we must face the probability of having to suppress such a rising in the sternest way. I am not suggesting a weak surrender to the forces of disorder but the risk is not one to be undertaken light heartedly.

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(5) The move would be a popular one and popularity is not a thing which Government can afford to neglect except when it is gained by the sacrifice of principles. Coming on the top of Savarkar's release and Borsad it would create an atmosphere of good feeling and would certainly make all the difference in the coming session of the Legislative Council. The argument that the rejection of the demand will wreck the Reforms is hardly worth considering. They are as nearly wrecked as they can be in the C. P. and Bengal and it is not Government that stands to lose in the eyes of the world but those who show themselves capable of wrecking the Reforms on such an issue. The only question for Government is whether Gandhi's imprisonment is of such importance from the point of view of the preservation of law and order that it is worth while giving the wreckers their chance on that.

I do not believe that it would be treated as an exhibition of weakness except by those sections of the gutter press in whose eyes Government can do no right.

Further, though I mention this with diffidence, it would mean a personal acquisition of popularity to His Excellency, and the personal popularity of the Governor is in this country of personal loyalties a great asset to Government.

(6) It is by no means certain that any great danger is to be apprehended from Gandhi. If he embarks on any programme likely to cause trouble the country has had enough bitter experience to assure a very large body of support to any measures necessary to suppress him. He may be incapable of profiting by his own " Himalayan blunders " but those who have suffered are not. Many sections even of the opponents of Government are tired of the atmosphere of hatred and distrust. Reports from the districts and from other Presidencies show that the sullen hostility of the last few years is lessening except perhaps in the Punjab—and Gandhi might not find such easy material to work on as when he went to jail.

(7) It is unlikely in view of his health and what we know of his inclinations that he will engage very actively in politics for six months or even a year. If he were let out now even unconditionally we would still have a breathing space in which to exploit the good effects of his release.

(8) No man, least of all a man with so many good qualities as Gandhi, should be in prison if he can possibly be let out.

I have set out above as fully and clearly as I can see them all the pros and cons. It is all a delicate balancing of probabilities. To set Gandhi at liberty may be to introduce into politics a beneficial solvent of difficulties or a dangerous explosive agent. If on the above

considerations Government decide to insist upon Gandhij's reimprisonment for the rest of his term then arrangements can at once be made for his restraint in some appropriate place for the next six months. If they decide to advise on his release then the announcement should be made at once (after getting the concurrence of the Government of India). In that case two courses are open:—

(i) Immediate and unconditional release without any negotiation with Gandhi trusting to the considerations set out in para (7) above.

(ii) To make sure of six months respite (a) With Gandhi unconditionally released but agreeing on doctor's orders to take no part in politics for six months ; or (b) with Gandhi under nominal restraint to salve his conscience but with an announcement by Government to the effect that he will be unconditionally released at the end of six months.

From a passage in Colonel Maddock's letter to the P. S. G. it looks as if Gandhi would accept (ii) (a) above. It looks from the wording of the letter as if he only turned it down because he did not think that Government would accept it.

Course (i) is perhaps the best if he is to be released at all. At the best on the course (ii) (a) we only gain six months while with course (ii) (b) we get little credit and have the responsibility for looking after his health.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE.  
31st January,

*Meeting of the Executive Council held on 1st February 1924.*

Agenda	Decision.
Release of Mr. M. K. Gandhi	<p>That it is advisable to release Mr. Gandhi forthwith unconditionally and that the Government of India be requested to concur in that decision by wire before the date of the discussion in the Legislative Assembly.</p> <p>(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE. 1st February 1924. L. WILSON. 2nd January. (corrected 2nd February)</p>

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**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. S.D. 149.  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
Bombay, 1st February 1924.

Copy forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor.

(Sd.) ,.....  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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**SECRET**

*Telegram.*

No. S.D. 148,  
dated 1st February 1924.

To-

Home, Delhi.

*Clear-the-Line.*

With reference to your telegram, No. D-192-Poll., dated the 25th January, the Governor in Council has reconsidered the whole position with regard to Gandhi's release, and desires to cancel the first sentence of Government's telegram of the 28th January.

2. From information obtained it is apparent that Moderate Liberals will support the resolution to be moved in the Assembly on the 5th instant, and the general situation in Bombay demands in the opinion of Government most careful consideration of the answer to be given to the resolution.

3. The Government in Council is still strongly of opinion that the position of Government would be weakened by the offer of any conditions to Gandhi, as conditions are certain to be refused, and if the Government of India decided to accept the verdict of the Assembly, which verdict will in all probability be endorsed by the Legislative Council, it can only do so unconditionally. It would therefore appear most desirable that a decision should be arrived at before there is any suggestion of Government being forced to take a decision under pressure from the Assembly or Council.

4. The main factors in favour of Gandhi's release are—

(a) The universal character of the demand throughout India from all sections of political opinion.

(b) The restraining influence which Gandhi would exert on the Ali Brothers.

(c) The fact that his release might be a setback to the Swaraj Party.

(d) His return to prison might easily lead to outbreaks of violence, which, in view of the present industrial situation in Bombay, would very probably lead to a most serious position.

(e) His release would greatly facilitate the smooth working of the Assembly and the Councils.

5. Under all the present circumstances, and in view of the state of Gandhi's health and of his known inclinations not to take part in politics for some considerable time the Governor in Council asks that authority may be given to him to take the following action at once. Begins. To announce that the Governor in Council has decided under section 401, Cr. P. C. to remit the further term of Mr. M. K. Gandhi's imprisonment. Ends.

It is probable that Colonel Maddock will get an undertaking on medical grounds from Mr. Gandhi that he will not take part in politics for six months.

An answer is requested at once.

O/C.

Bombay, Home.

Secretary to Government.

Copy of a Telegram, dated 1st February 1924.

From

Home Member, Government of India,  
Delhi;

To

MONTGOMERIE, Secretary,  
Home Department, Bombay.

Your cypher telegram to-day's date; we had drafted answer to your 142-S.D., dated 31st when your telegram arrived. This will necessitate reconsideration but I will endeavour to send reply early to-morrow morning.

[True copy]

(Sd.) .....  
Superintendent.

**SECRET**

*Telegram.*

No. , dated 2nd February 1924: Recd. 5-45 p.m.

From

Home, Delhi.

To

Bombay Home, Bombay.

PART I.

*Priority—*

The Government of India have found it difficult to appreciate the grounds for the radical difference in the recommendation made in

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our telegram of the 1st February from the course suggested in your two previous telegrams, dated the 28th and 31st January. The considerations mentioned in paragraph 4 of your telegram of the 1st February are not new factors with the possible exception of (d). The Government of India are not aware whether there has been any material change in the mill situation in its bearing on the question of the disposal of Gandhi, but they would be glad to have a fuller expression of the views of the Bombay Government on this point. *Prima facie* the Government of India are disposed to the view that what is in any case a local and may be only a temporary situation should not be the determining factor in deciding an issue of All-India importance.

2. Before receiving your telegram of the 1st February, the Government of India decided to approve of the second alternative suggested in your telegram, dated the 28th January, viz., that on medical grounds Gandhi should be removed to a hilly station for the period of convalescence which is likely to be not less than six months. They further considered it preferable that we should, if possible, adopt an arrangement on these lines as a permanent expedient, i.e., for the remainder of the term of sentence. Conditions applied would be throughout on basis of detention only every regard being paid to his health and general convenience. It was considered extremely desirable that if this is done it should be so announced in the first instance. They also considered it important that it should be accompanied by a statement which would, of course, require the express concurrence of Gandhi that he will feel bound in conscience to abstain from political activity while technically a prisoner. From the terms of your telegram, dated the 28th January, the Government of India understood that Gandhi would possibly assent to these terms. If possible, they should be secured, but they are not essential to the adoption of the proposed arrangements.

This is the first of two parts.

Part II not received yet.

Copy sent to: —H. E. & H. M.

Three spare copies accompany.

(Sd.) .....

**SECRET.**

Despatched, Delhi, 15-40 hrs.  
 2nd February Recd, by A. S.,  
 H. D. (Poll.), 21-45 hrs.—do.—

*Telegram.*

Dated the 2nd February 1924.

From

Home, Delhi.

To

Bombay, Home, Bombay.

**Priority —**

## PART II.

3. We are still in favour of above course as it does not involve Gandhi's return to prison which reference is made in paragraph 4 (d) of telegram. Paragraph 3 suggests that if adopted it would not be likely (sic) to lead to dangerous developments in local Bombay situation. Government of India consider it the safest and most consistent course on all other grounds.

4. It is requested that immediate consideration be given by the Government of Bombay to above views and that in their reply they will particularly refer to the effect on the local situation.

Please take immediate steps, if Bombay Government concur in course suggested, to ascertain if proposed arrangement is acceptable to Gandhi. Announcement may be made by Bombay Government, if Gandhi accepts, concurrence of the Government of India being at the same time intimated, if the Government of Bombay to desire. Government of India should be informed by *clear-the-line* wire of proposed announcement: Home Member must in any case make announcement of Government's intention on February 5th in the Assembly.

[True copy]

(Sd.).....

Assistant Secretary,  
 Home Department (Special).

Submitted. Telegram mutilated in  
 parts and sent without any indication  
 of stops.



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**SECRET.***Telegram.*

No. S.D.-155, dated 3rd February 1924.

From

Home, Bombay;

To

Home, Delhi.

*Clear-the-line—*

Your telegram of the 2nd February regarding Gandhi. (1) The difference between the views expressed in my telegram of 1st February from those previously expressed is due to a fuller analysis of the situation and of the balances of advantages and disadvantages to be expected from Gandhi's continued imprisonment. This Government has had further opportunity of discovering the strength of opinion among Indians of all classes and shades of politics. They discovered that responsible European opinion was by no means unanimous. This Government did not propose to treat the present industrial situation in Bombay as a determining factor in deciding an issue of all India importance. They presumed that the Government of India will agree that the decision whether he should be further imprisoned in view of the persistent and wide-spread demand for his release must be made on a general balance of political advantages and risks.

(2) The risks of release may be deduced from his past record combined with the fact that he has indicated in his interview with Mr. Sastri just before his operation that his political theories remain unchanged. These political theories have in the past although possibly without his volition resulted in bloodshed and disorder. They may possibly do so again. Gandhi may, if released, assume that the peace which had prevailed since his imprisonment is an indication that the country is now ripe for Civil Disobedience and may inaugurate a movement which may again result in disorder. These are very grave risks and this Government has no desire to minimise them. On the other hand, it does not consider it wise to exaggerate them. Such action on Gandhi's part will, as in the past lead to a revulsion of feeling against him. This Government does not believe that Gandhi though a danger to the peace can be regarded as a serious menace to the British rule in India.

(3) In favour of his release is the universality of the demand. This may be based on the adventitious circumstance of his illness, but its universality is in itself strong reason for giving into it. Moderates and Liberals have in their past loyalty to the constitution a claim to be heard in the counsels of Government. Their

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demand may be illogical but they have committed themselves and to drive them into opposition would be bad politics unless their demand is so obviously unwise that it must be flouted. Further it is doubtful whether in view of his past record and the distrust which it has aroused in thinking minds Gandhi could induce the public to follow him in anything likely to produce disorder.

(4) Positive results which may be expected from the release are, (one) an access of popularity to Government likely to facilitate the ordinary work of maintaining law and order ; (two) the check likely to be exercised over the Ali Brothers who have recently been tending more and more to a violent propaganda ; it might also serve as a check on the' anarchical and violent movements which are a possibility in Bengal and Poona ; (three) the substitution of an opponent who will be open and above board for men who are notoriously unscrupulous.

(5) It is further possible that Gandhi's first action on release may be to denounce the Swarajists for their defection from the pure principles of non-co-operation and thus considerably reduce their power for harm in the Legislatures. On the other hand, it is almost certain that a refusal of the demand for his release will drive over Moderates and Liberals to the Swarajist camp and so may precipitate a constitutional crisis which might work itself out in disorders as bad as anything to be anticipated from Gandhi's release. The Governor in Council has grave doubts whether the further imprisonment of Gandhi will produce benefits sufficient to outweigh the disadvantage of giving the opponents of Government an opportunity for wrecking the Reforms. Disregard of opinion of Liberals and Independents will probably result in the voting down of all budget demands and rejection of all Government measures raising a serious political situation particularly in Transferred Departments endangering the Reforms by indicating incompetence for any measure of responsible Government. The Bombay Government which is pledged to utmost endeavour to promote success of Reforms cannot view this with equanimity. Moderate Party, including Mahomma-dan group, are only hope here of practical success. Release of Gandhi on their representation would give them new lease of life and opportunity to save Reforms.

(6) An additional element of danger is the present mill strike in Bombay. There are nearly 1,50,000 men on strike with no immediate prospect of a return to work. They will form an inflammable material for agitators to work on and the rioting the bloodshed which might ensue were advantage taken by the agitators of a refusal to release Gandhi is a matter of sufficient consequence to be taken into account in deciding even an all India issue. This

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Government is prepared if it be decided that the continued imprisonment of Gandhi is necessary to put down any such disorders but it submits that disorders such as these must be weighed against any disorders which may be feared from his release.

(7) The Governor in Council is of opinion that the case for and against continued imprisonment is very evenly balanced but on fuller consideration is of opinion that the most advantageous course will be release unless the Government of India are sure that such an intermediate course as is proposed by them in your paragraph 2 would be accepted by the Legislative Assembly and the public as a sufficient compliance with the demand for immediate and unconditional release. The Governor in Council thinks this unlikely for the agitation is not directly against the place of his internment but against his detention at all, but if the Government of India decide not to release him and are prepared for the political risks involved, this Government while maintaining its view in favour of release would arrange for Gandhi's detention for the rest of his term in some place other than a prison. If so, they agree that this intention should be at once announced. He sees no advantage in and very little likelihood of obtaining any statement by Gandhi as suggested in your telegram. Wherever detained, so long as he is a prisoner, Gandhi will observe, as he always has observed, rules laid down for prisoners, but he will not bargain with Government for concessions when he is well enough to undergo imprisonment. The undertaking referred to in my telegram of the 28th January only referred to the period of his convalescence when restraints might have to be relaxed. While a sick man he can accept privileges as a right, but when well he would probably demand to be sent back to Yeravda so as not to be in enjoyment of privileges denied to any other political prisoner, and support his demand by hunger striking or some such method. This Government regards his return to Yeravda impossible in any circumstances.

(8) If, on the other hand, the Government of India concur with this Government in finding that the balance of advantages is in favour of his release, this Government is of the opinion that the release should be announced as immediate and unconditional. Otherwise we shall lose much of the political advantage which may be hoped for from it. It is very likely that Gandhi's health and his own private inclinations will keep him out of active politics for six months or more. He will be assisted in this by the strict injunctions of his present medical advisers and will probably exploit his own weakness to the full.

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*Meeting of the Executive Council held on Sunday,  
the 3rd February 1924.*

Subject	Decision.
Government of India, Home Department, telegram of the 2nd February 1924, regarding Gandhi	The draft as slightly amended should issue at once. (Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE. 3rd February 1924. (Sd.) L. WILSON. 3rd February 1924.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. S.D. 162.  
HOME DEPARTMENT.  
Bombay, 4th February 1924.

Copy forwarded to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor.

(Sd.) .....  
for Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**SECRET.**

*Telegram-P.*

No. 142-S.D.,  
Dated, Bombay, the 31st January 1924.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Reference my clear the line telegram, dated the 28th January 1924. Gandhi—Following correspondence has been exchanged between the Government of Bombay and the Civil Surgeon, Poona:—

(1) Letter from the Government of Bombay to Civil Surgeon, Poona. *Begins*. With regard to your daily reports indicating early convalescence of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, I am directed to request you to submit a special report as early as possible as to particular arrangements, if any, which would in your opinion be necessary to secure his complete recovery from effects of his recent operation to be removed from hospital. The special report should be submitted through the Surgeon-General and should state specifically whether you would, on medical grounds, recommend

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his removal to some place other than Poona, as for instance some hill station; in that case immediate steps would have to be taken to secure suitable accommodation for him by Government. *Ends.*

(2) Letter from Civil Surgeon to the Bombay Government. *Begins.* In reply to your letter No. S.D. 132, dated the 29th January, 1924, I have the honour to state that in my opinion it is very desirable for Mr. Gandhi to be sent away from Poona for convalescence when he has recovered sufficiently from the effects of his operations. Mr. Gandhi on being questioned on the subject suggested that he might be allowed to proceed to the sea-side, and the Tital or Dumas in the Surat District would be most suitable. With this I entirely agree. A bungalow situated near the sea-shore would, I think, best meet the case. I would not advise a hill station as I do not expect his recovery to be complete before the advent of the rains: in any case not within six months of leaving the hospital.

2. The Surgeon-General endorses the Civil Surgeon's view as to the suitability of Dumas or Tital from a medical point of view, though he has pointed out to the Civil Surgeon that Dumas is not in British territory and that the question of finding accommodation at Tital might be difficult.

3. Dumas being in State territory is out of the question ; but Government are informed that on medical grounds, Belgaum, Dharwar or Varsova would be equally good.

4. This Government shall be glad to have the comments of the Government of India on my telegram, dated the 28th January very urgently.

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*Telegram-P.*

No. D. 233.

Dated the 19th January 1924.

From

The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political Department.

The question of the appointment of a Medical Board to report on the probable effect on Gandhi's health of his return to Jail after period of convalescence is recommended for the consideration of the Government of Bombay by the Government of India and should the former concur Government of India consider it important in view of the political situation in India and England that it should

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be made clear that the action taken represents the spontaneous decision of Indian authorities. Accordingly, it is important that announcement should be made either at once or sufficiently early to ensure this. The Government of India further request that announcement may state that decision was reached after consultation with them and with their approval. They would be glad to receive information as to precise terms of reference and constitution of Board.

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*Telegram-P.*

No.—S.D. 89.

Dated the 22nd January 1924.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

*Priority.*

No good purpose would in the opinion of the Government of Bombay be served by announcement of constitution of such Medical Board at an early date. Bombay Government consider it would be premature to make any pronouncement of the kind indicated. It is well known that at present and probably for the next six weeks Gandhi's condition is such that no decision could be arrived at as to whether his release should or should not be recommended on medical grounds and any such announcement would gain no credit in political circles at the present moment, and will only be regarded an attempt to pave the way for an evasion of political issues. There will be no objection if the Government of India so desire to their announcing in the coming debate in the Legislative Assembly that the Government of Bombay will take every step which it would take in the case of any other prisoner for assuring itself of Mr. Gandhi's physical fitness for imprisonment before reincarceration, but this Government would strongly object to any premature announcement which would prejudice subsequent consideration of political advantage or disadvantage of reincarceration and this matter which has been discussed by the Governor in Council is to be discussed again when Gandhi's medical advisers can give a date when some definite decision as to his medical condition could be arrived at.

Above is with reference to your telegram, dated the 19th January No. D. 233-Poll.

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*Telegram-P.*

No.—D. 192-Poll.  
Dated the 25th January 1924.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

*Clear the Line—*

Reference correspondence ending with your telegram No. S.D. 89, dated the 22nd January 1924.

In view of the persistent and widespread demand for Gandhi's release and with special reference to the necessity of determining the attitude to be adopted in meeting in both Chambers of Legislature on 4th and 5th February resolutions on the subject, the Government of India have found it necessary to review the situation and to consider the line of action which should be followed. They have arrived at the following conclusions tentatively.

2. The grounds necessitating the measures to secure the cessation of Mr. Gandhi's agitation remain substantially unaltered and no action which did not provide a sufficient guarantee on this point would be warranted. The only alternatives therefore are his continued detention in prison or an undertaking from him to refrain during the unexpired period of his sentence, from activities falling within the scope of section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code or otherwise hostile to Government.

3. The Government of India consider that the course which appears to have the most advantages would be to tender him a remission without conditions in the legal sense of section 401, Criminal Procedure Code, on his giving an undertaking to the above effect, the precise terms of which may require further examination. If Gandhi declines to give any such undertaking, as must be regarded as probable, the position of Government in the event of their deciding on reincarceration would be fortified. On the other hand there does not appear to be reasonable doubt that, if given, the undertaking would be duly observed.

4. These considerations relate solely to the question in its political aspect and are independent of medical considerations which must when the opinion of the medical board is available of course be treated on their merits. The Government of India also recognise that no final decision, which must necessarily be based on all the relevant data, can be arrived at till the medical opinion is obtained.

5. The Government of India would be glad to receive the views of the Government of Bombay on these points without delay. They agree that the announcement of the appointment of the medical board may be deferred for the present.



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**VERY CONFIDENTIAL.**

25th January 1924.

My dear D. E. Montmorency,

I send herewith a draft order in Council, with the relevant papers. I am not sure that I have given a full and accurate version of the decision and His Excellency may possibly desire to discuss it with Mr. Malcolm Hailey. I have no express warrant for (p. 4) of the draft, but I venture to invite attention to the passage marked A in the telegram (No. S.D. 89 of 22nd January) from the Government of Bombay. Gandhi is imprisoned in a Bombay Warrant and an order under section 401, Criminal Procedure Code would normally issue from them; possibly in such a case as the present, with the express concurrence of the Governor-General in Council, though this might more properly be included in any public announcement, not being a formal order under the Code, that may issue.

Pending approval of the order in Council, it would, I think, be premature to draft telegrams either to the Secretary or State in Bombay. A reply to the letter is due on the question of the announcement of a Medical Board, on which I request His Excellency orders.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) J. CRERAR.

*Order in Council,*

In order to decide on the attitude to be adopted towards the Resolution, it is necessary in the first instance to define the policy of the Government of India in respect of the demand for Mr. Gandhi's release, regarded in its political aspect and apart from medical considerations, which must be treated on their merits when the opinion of the Medical Board is available.

2. The grounds necessitating measures to secure the cessation of Mr. Gandhi's agitation remain substantially unaltered and no action would be warranted which did not provide a sufficient guarantee on this point. The only alternatives therefore are his continued detention in prison or an undertaking from him to refrain, during the unexpired period of his sentence, from activities falling within the scope of section 124-A, Indian Penal Code or otherwise hostile to Government.

3. The Governor-General in Council considers that the proper course would be to tender to him a remission without conditions of the unexpired portion of his sentence on his giving an undertaking to the above effect. The precise terms of the undertaking will require fuller examination.



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4. The Government of Bombay should be consulted on this proposal and the Secretary of State should be informed that such consultation is taking place.

5. The attitude to be adopted on the resolution will be further considered.

(Sd.) READING.

25th January 1924.

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*Telegram P.*

Dated, Bombay, the 28th January 1924.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

Reference your telegram, dated the 26th. The Government of Bombay agree that circumstances have not so far altered that Gandhi's immediate release from restrictions, without conditions, can be contemplated ; but they do not consider it at present feasible to extract any undertaking which would be acceptable to Gandhi, and would at the same time debar him from political action, if released. It has been ascertained confidentially that Gandhi would probably be willing to be detained in some suitable place provided he remained technically a political prisoner. In that case he would feel bound in conscience to abstain from any political activity, and will probably give an undertaking to that effect. But he would hardly consent to be his own jailer, for that would be to accept conditions. Gandhi would insist on maintaining, though merely formally and technically, his position as a prisoner of Government. Any such offer as the Government of India contemplate would, in effect, be an offer of conditional release—an offer which it is known would be refused by Gandhi and would not effectively strengthen the hands of Government any more than a definitely conditional offer. The Government of Bombay consider that this would not be the time to make any such offer. But the Governor in Council understands that Colonel Maddock would, on medical grounds, recommend that Gandhi should be sent to some suitable place for six months, such as a hill station. The Government of Bombay would be glad to have the concurrence of the Government of India in such a proposal. By the end of that period the political situation will probably be much clearer and the question of his future detention can then be considered.

2. In the meantime the Legislative Assembly and the Local Legislative Council may be informed that in any decision that may come to the Governor of Bombay in Council will act in the closest consultation with Colonel Maddock, who is in medical charge of the case, but that in view of the report of his medical adviser no question of Gandhi's immediate release could be considered.

3. A medical report from Colonel Maddock is being called for at once.

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*Telegram to Bombay No. 192, dated 25th January 1924.*

Secretary of State 57

T. from Bombay of 29th January 1924.

The reply from the Government of Bombay to our telegram No. D. 192-Pol., dated 25th January is submitted.

2. The Home Department considers that the course to which the Bombay Government ask for concurrence should, provided that a medical report in the sense anticipated by them is received, be approved.

3. H. E.'s views to the circulation of the telegram to the Government of Bombay and of their reply, with a view to the further consideration of the case in Council, are requested.

(Sd.) J. CRERAR.

29th January 1924.

Notes.

H. E. wishes the contents of the telegram to be communicated to the Secretary of State with the observation that comments of the Government of India will follow.

2. H. E. agrees to action proposed in paragraph 3 of Secretary's note.

(Sd.) D. E. MONTMORENCY.

29th January.

*Hon. Mr. Crerar,*

The telegrams should be circulated.

2. Telegram below to Secretary of State to issue.

(Sd.) J. CRERAR.

29th January.

Telegram to Secretary of State No. 74, dated 30th January 1924.

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*Telegram.*

Dated the 1st February 1924.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

*Clear the line.*

Please see your telegram No. D/192 Pol. dated 25th January. Governor in Council has reconsidered the whole position with regard to Gandhi's release and desires to cancel first sentence of Bombay Government's telegram of 28th January.

2. From information obtained it is apparent that moderates and liberals will support the resolution to be moved in the Assembly on the 5th February and in the opinion of this Government the general situation in Bombay demands most careful consideration of the answer to be given to the resolution.

3. The Governor-in-Council is still strongly of opinion that the position of Government would be weakened by an offer of any conditions to Gandhi as they are certain to be refused, and if, Government of India decide to accept the verdict of the Assembly which verdict will in all probability be endorsed by the Legislative Council, it can only do so unconditionally. It would therefore appear most desirable that decision should be arrived at before there is any suggestion that Government is being forced to take a decision under pressure of Assembly or Council.

4. The main factors in favour of Gandhi's release are :—

- (a) The Universal character demands throughout India from all sections of political opinion ;
- (b) the restraining influence which Gandhi would exert on the Ali Brothers ;
- (c) the fact that his release might be a set back to the Swaraj party ;
- (d) his return to prison might easily lead to outbreak of violence which in view of the present industrial situation in Bombay would very probably lead to a most serious position.
- (e) his release would greatly facilitate the smooth working of the Councils and the Assembly.

5. Under all the circumstances and in view of the state of health of Gandhi and of his known inclination not to take part in politics for some considerable time the Governor in Council asks that

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authority may be given to him to take at once the following action:—

Begins. To announce that the Governor in Council has decided under section 401 of the Criminal Procedure Code to remit further term of Gandhi's imprisonment. Ends.

It is probable that Colonel Maddock will get an undertaking from Gandhi on medical grounds that he will not take part in politics for six months.

6. An answer is requested at once.

DRAFT OF TELEGRAM.

Dated 1st February 1924.

From

Home Department.

To

Government of Bombay.

*Clear the line.*

Reference correspondence ending your secret telegram No. 142 S. P. dated 31st January. Gandhi.

Government of India are prepared to approve of second alternative proposed in your telegram of 29th January namely that Gandhi should, on medical grounds, be removed to healthy station for period of convalescence which is likely to be not less than six months. Government of India would have no objection to announcement to above effect being made by Government of Bombay if they so desire, but announcement of intentions of Government must in any case be made by Home Member in Assembly on February 5th. If announcement is to be made by Bombay Government, please communicate proposed terms by clear *the line* telegram.

2. Above contemplates temporary arrangement terminable with period of convalescence. Government of India consider it preferable that we should, if possible, adopt a management on these lines as a permanent expedient, that is for remainder of sentence and it is obviously extremely desirable that, if this is done, it should be so announced in first instance. It is further important that it should be accompanied by statement, which would of course require Gandhi's express concurrence, that he will feel bound in conscience, while technically a prisoner, to abstain from any political activity. Government of India understand from your telegram that Gandhi would possibly assent to these terms. They should if possible be secured but are not essential to adoption of proposed arrangement as permanent measure. Please take immediate steps to ascertain if this solution is feasible and reply by clear *the line* telegram.

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*DRAFT OF TELEGRAM.*

Date : 2nd February 1924.

From

Home Department.

To

Government of Bombay.

*Clear the line.*

Please see your telegram 1st February. Gandhi. Government of India have found difficulty in appreciating grounds for radical difference in recommendation now made from course suggested in your telegrams of 28th and 31st January. Consideration mentioned in para. 4 of your present telegram are not new factors with possible exception of (d). Government of India are unaware whether there has been any material change in mill situation in its bearing on question of disposal of Gandhi but would be glad of fuller expression of views of Government of Bombay on this point. *Prima facie*, they are disposed to view that what is in any case a local and may be only a temporary situation should not be determining factor in decision of issue of All-India importance.

2. Government of India had before receipt of your telegram decided to approve of second alternative proposed in your telegram of 28th January namely that Gandhi should on medical grounds be removed to healthy station for period of convalescence which is likely to be not less than six months. They further considered it preferable that we should if possible adopt an arrangement on these lines as a permanent expedient, i.e. for remainder of sentence. Conditions applied would be throughout on basis of detention only every regard being paid to his health and general convenience. They considered it extremely desirable that if this is done it should be so announced in first instance. They also considered it important that it should be accompanied by statement which would of course require Gandhi's express concurrence that he will feel bound in conscience while technically a prisoner abstain from any political activity. Government of India understood from terms of your telegram of 28th that Gandhi would possibly assent to these terms. They should if possible be secured but are not essential to adoption of proposed arrangements.

3. Government of India are still in favour of above course. As it does not involve Gandhi's return to prison to which reference is made in para. 4 (d) of telegram, Government of India suggest that if adopted it would not be likely to lead to dangerous developments in local Bombay situation. On all other grounds they consider it the safest and most consistent course.

4. Government of Bombay are requested to give immediate consideration to above views and in reply to refer particularly to

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anticipate effect on local situation. If Bombay Government concur in course suggested please take immediate steps to ascertain whether Gandhi will accept the arrangement proposed. If he does accept announcement may be made immediately by Bombay Government if they so desire, concurrence of Government of India to being at the same time intimated. Proposed form of such announcement should be communicated by clear the line telegram. Intentions of Government must in any case be announced by Home Member in Assembly on February 5th.

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Dated the 2nd February, 1924.

From

Viceroy (Home Department).

To

Government of Bombay.

Gandhi. Reference your telegram of February 1st. Difficulty has been found by Government of India in appreciating grounds for radical difference in recommendation now made from course suggested in your telegrams of January 28th and 31st. Considerations mentioned in para. 4 of your present telegram are not new factors with possible exception of (d). It is not known to Government of India whether there has been any material change in mill situation in its bearing on question of disposal of Gandhi, but Government of India would be glad of fuller expression of views of Bombay Government on this point. *Prima facie* they are disposed to view that what is in any case a local and may be only a temporary situation should not be determining factor in decision of issue of All-India importance.

2. Before receipt of your telegram the Government of India had decided to approve of second alternative proposed in your telegram of January 28th, namely, that Gandhi should on medical grounds be removed to healthy station for period of convalescence which is likely to be not less than six months. They further considered it preferable that we should if possible adopt an arrangement on these lines as a permanent expedient, i.e., for remainder of sentence. Conditions applied would be throughout on basis of detention only, every regard being paid to his health and general convenience. They considered it extremely desirable that if this is done it should be as announced in first instance. They also considered it important that it should be accompanied by statement which would of course require Gandhi's express concurrence that he will feel bound in conscience while technically a prisoner to abstain from any political activity. The Government of India understood from terms of your telegram of 28th that Gandhi would possibly assent to these terms.

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They should if possible be secured but are not essential to adoption of proposed arrangements.

3. The Government of India are still in favour of above course. As it does not involve the return of Gandhi to prison to which reference is made in para. 4(d) of telegram, the Government of India suggest that if adopted it would not be likely to lead to dangerous developments in local Bombay situation. On all other grounds they consider it the safest and most consistent course.

4. The Bombay Government are requested to give immediate consideration to above views and in reply to refer particularly to anticipated effect on local situation. If Government of Bombay concur in course suggested please take immediate steps to ascertain whether Gandhi will accept the arrangement proposed. If he does accept announcement may be made immediately by Government of Bombay if they so desire, concurrence of Government of India being at the same time intimated. Proposed form of announcement should be communicated by *clear the line* telegram. In any case intentions of Government must be announced by Home Member on February 5th in Assembly.

3 copies sent to Hon'ble Mr. Crerar.

**SECRET.**

TELEGRAM.

No. 155 S. D.

dated the 3rd February 1924.

From

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

Please see your telegram dated the 2nd February Gandhi. (1) difference between view expressed in my telegram of the 1st February from those previously expressed is due to fuller analysis of situation and the balance of advantages and risks, to be expected from Gandhi's continued imprisonment. This Government has had fuller opportunity to discover strength of opinion among Indians and all classes and shades of politics. They discovered that responsible trend of European opinion was by no means unanimous. Bombay Government did not propose to treat the present industrial situation in Bombay as a determining factor in deciding an issue of All-India importance they presumed that Government of India would agree that in view of persistent and widespread demand for his release a decision whether he should be imprisoned further must be made on a general balance of political advantages and risks ; (2) the risks of release may be deduced from his past record combined with fact that he has indicated in his interview with Mr. Sastri just before his



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operation that his political theories have in the past, although possibly without his volition resulted in bloodshed and disorder, they may possibly do so again. If released, Gandhi may assume that peace which has prevailed since his imprisonment is an indication that the country is now ripe for civil disobedience, and may inaugurate a movement which may again result in disorder. There are very grave risks and this Government has no desire to minimise them; it does not, on the other hand, consider it wise to exaggerate them that such action on the part of Gandhi will, as in the past, lead to a revulsion of feeling against him. This Government does not believe that Gandhi, though a danger to the peace, can be regarded as a serious menace to British rule in India; (3) in favour of his release is the universality of the demand. This may be based on advantageous circumstances of his illness but its universality is in itself a strong reason for giving in to it; moderates and liberals owing to their past loyalty to constitution have a claim to be heard in the counsels of Government; their demand may be illogical but they have committed themselves and to drive them into opposition, unless their demand is so obviously unwise that it must be flouted, would be bad politics. Further in view of Gandhi's past record and the distrust it has aroused in thinking minds it is doubtful whether he can induce the public to follow him in anything likely to produce disorder positive results which may be expected from his release are (1) an access of popularity to Government likely to facilitate the ordinary work of maintaining law and order; (2) check likely to be exercised over the Ali Brothers who have recently tended more and more to violent propaganda : it might also serve as a check on anarchical and violent movements which are a possibility in Bengal and Poona ; (3) substitution of opponent who will be open and above board for men who are notoriously unscrupulous; (5) it is further possible that on release Gandhi's first action may be to denounce Swarajists for their defection from pure principle of non-co-operation, and thus considerably deduce in Legislatures, their power for harm. On the other hand it is almost certain that refusal of demand for his release will drive moderates and liberals to the Swaraj camp and so precipitate a constitutional crisis which might work itself out in disorder as bad as anything to be anticipated from the release of Gandhi. The Governor in Council has grave doubt whether further imprisonment of Gandhi will produce benefit sufficient to outweigh disadvantages and giving opponents of Government an opportunity of wrecking the Reforms. Disregard of the opinion of the liberals and independents would probably result in voting down all budget demands and to objection of all Government measures. This will raise a serious political situation particularly as regards Transferred Depart-



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ments and endanger Reforms by indicating their incompetence for any measure of responsible Government. The Government of Bombay cannot view this with equanimity since it is pledged to the utmost endeavour to promote success of Reforms. The moderate party including the Mahomedan group are here only hoping for its practical success. Release of Gandhi on their representation would give them a new lease of life and an opportunity to save the Reforms (6) an additional element of danger is the present mill strikes in Bombay. There are at present a lakh and a half of men on strike with no immediate prospect of work : they will form inflammable material for agitators to work upon and the riot and bloodshed which might ensue, were advantage taken by the agitators of a refusal to release Gandhi, is a matter of sufficient consequence to be taken into account in deciding even an all-India issue. If it is decided that continued imprisonment of Gandhi is necessary this Government are prepared to put down any such disorder ; but it submits that disorders such as these must be weighed against any disorder which may be feared from his release. (7) Governor in Council thinks that case for and against continued imprisonment is very evenly balanced ; but on full consideration he is of opinion that most advantageous course will be to release him unless the Government of India are sure that such an intermediate course as proposed in paragraph 2 of your telegram would be accepted by the Legislative Assembly and the public as a sufficient compliance with demand for immediate and unconditional release.

The Governor in Council thinks this unlikely for the agitation is not at all directed against place of internment but against his detention. If, however, Government of India desire not to release Gandhi and are not prepared to face the political risks involved, this Government while maintaining its view in favour of release would arrange for Gandhi's detention for the rest of his term in some place other than prison. If so, they agree that this intention should be announced at once. He sees no advantage in and very little likelihood of obtaining any such statement from Gandhi as suggested in your telegram wherever he is detained. So long as he is a prisoner Gandhi will, as he has always done, observe the rules laid down for prisoners; but he will not bargain with Government for concessions when he is well enough to undergo imprisonment. The undertaking referred to in my telegram dated the 28th January only referred to the period of his convalescence when restraints might have to be relaxed. As a sick man Gandhi can accept privileges as a right but when well he would probably demand to be sent back to Yeravda so as not to be in enjoyment of privileges denied to any other political prisoner; and he will

support his demand by hunger strike or some other method. In any circumstances the Government of Bombay regard his return to Yeravda to be impossible. (8) On the other hand if the Government of India concur with this Government in finding that the balance of advantage is in favour of release they are of opinion that release should be announced as immediate and unconditional, otherwise much of political advantage which may be hoped for from it will be lost. It is very likely that Gandhi's health and his own private inclination will keep him out of active politics for six months or more and that he will be assisted in this by the strict injunctions of his present medical advisers and will probably exploit even weakness to the full.

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*Telegram P and R.*

No. 439-Poll.,

From

dated the 4th February 1924.

Viceroy (Home Department) ;

To

*Priority*—Government of Bombay.

*Gandhi.*—Reference your telegram of February 3rd, No. S.D. 155. In view of the representations made by the Bombay Government the Government of India accept their conclusions. They request that announcement may be made in following terms:—

*Begins.*—(R) Government of Bombay have received medical advice that Mr. Gandhi should be removed to sea-side for prolonged period of convalescence of not less than six months in any event. In these circumstances they have decided with concurrence of Government of India to remit unconditionally under section 401, Criminal Procedure Code the unexpired portion of his sentences. Orders will be issued immediately for his release. Ends.

(P) On receipt please telegraph at what time your announcement will issue as the Government of India must in any event make it in above term tomorrow morning 5th in Assembly. Please also ensure that any cabled message to England is in identical terms which may be transmitted by Reuter's. Copies sent to Hon'ble Sir M. Hailey and Hon. Mr. Crerar.

No. 13.

POSTS

*TELEGRAPHS.*

(SEAL).

Received here at 0, H. 49 M.

000 ZH BOMBAY 4, STE. 18.

CLEAR THE LINE CRERAR HOME DELHI, = ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE IN PRESS TOMORROW. MORNING 5TH = MONTGOMERIE.

This form must accompany any inquiry made respecting this Telegram.

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*Telegram-P.*

From

Governor, Bombay ;

To

Viceroy.

Dated, Bombay, the 3rd February 1924.

Received the 4th February 1924.

*Clear line—*

Private. Gandhi. Please see official telegrams on the subject. I considered with Sir Maurice Hayward, the Member-in-charge of the Home Department, the suggestion made in Delhi of a Medical Board and replied on January 22nd officially against the appointment of a Medical Board and in favour of postponing the political issue for 6 months. Your official reply, dated January 25th agreed to our views with regard to a Medical Board. It, however, stated that you had, in view of popular demand for release, reviewed political situation and were disposed to detain Gandhi in some form of light internment upon a guarantee that he would cease from propaganda. In reply our telegram, dated January 28th, reported that we had called for a medical report respecting the desirability of detaining Gandhi at some sanatorium for 6 months, but we agreed that there was no material change in the political situation to justify immediate unconditional release. We observed that it would not be possible to get from Gandhi any undertaking not to proceed with propaganda. Our reply was based upon a discussion in the Executive Council, in which Cowasjee Jehangir and Chunilal Mehta dissented from the latter view, which was only passed by a majority. The Minister Jadhav, representing non-Brahmans, and the Minister Ghulam Husain, representing Mahomedan opinion, were also against that view. The Minister Dehlavi supported majority.

Upon receipt of the medical report we considered the matter further recommending detention for 6 months at a sanatorium away from Poona. A copy of the medical report was sent to you with Our telegram, dated January 31st. We realised that the medical report would probably have meant unconditional release in the case of an ordinary simple imprisonment of prisoner of the special division. We therefore considered in full detail the political issue. With my concurrence Sir M. Hayward interviewed Sir C. Setalvad, the leader of the Moderate Party, and discussed the effect upon

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his party. He consulted others also, and realised the surprising unanimity among all communities here in favour of release, including Parsees and Mahomedans, and found that opinion was divided even among Europeans. Sir, C. Setalvad considered that it was now a choice of risks and was in favour of taking the risk of release. He was a party to the original decision to imprison Gandhi. He pointed out that many Moderates had committed themselves to this by rash sentimental announcements in Press, and that many Moderates and in all probability all Independents would (certainly?) join the ranks of the Swarajist reform wreckers. The result would be voting down all supplies and budgets and raising a serious political situation, particularly in Transferred Departments, endangering the Reforms by indicating their incompetence for any measure of responsible Government. His opinion was to the effect that release would give a new lease of life to the Moderate Party and a further trial to the Reforms, and a postponement of reversion to old form of Government, but personally I am not convinced of this argument. My Council weighed the pros and cons, being compelled to do the utmost for the success of the Reforms, and was ready to take the serious risks of release. Gandhi might, owing to his medical treatment and a generous release, possibly prove less hostile. He any way would probably not do any thing for a year. It is questionable whether his health would, even after that period, permit of his entry into politics, but we must presume that he would go forth and proceed to wreck the Reforms and destroy the Satanic Government. If he did so, the Moderate and many others who would be thrown into opposition if we now refused his release, might then be on our side in putting him back into prison on a fresh trial. We are confident that we should be able to meet any dangerous situation which would arise from refusal to release him, and we do not especially stress the effect of refusal to release on the strike situation.

My own personal opinion is that we shall have gained much if the Assembly can be satisfied by dealing with the case as one of convalescence only, and we can keep Gandhi under supervision for even 6 months more, but I feel that the question of his release will have to be very seriously reconsidered at the end of 6 months, in any case, and my Council is of opinion that the effect of immediate release, if release as they consider is the end inevitable, would be the best political course to adopt on the whole.

X Copy sent to P. S. V.

X Copy sent to Sir M. Hailey.

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*Order in Council.*

The Government of Bombay should be addressed in the terms of the attached telegram. The telegram from the Government of Bombay, dated February 1, 1924, together with this reply should be communicated for information to the Secretary of State.

(Sd.) READINGS.

2nd February 1924.

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**NOTES.***Order in Council.*

The Government of Bombay and the Secretary of State be addressed in the terms of the attached telegrams.

(Sd.) READINGS.

4th February 1924.

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Viceregal Lodge,  
Delhi.

My dear Crerar,

The Viceroy has received a telegram from Lord Lytton expressing a protest that Local Governments were not informed beforehand of the intention of releasing Gandhi and that no explanation has been given to his Government of the reasons and circumstances in which it was decided to release him. He points out that this has caused difficulties to his Government and that they are not in a position to meet enquiries from their supporters regarding the release.

His Excellency inclines to the view that there is something to be said for the protest and that it would have been preferable to have warned local Governments, that Gandhi was going to be released and to have informed them beforehand of the reasons which prompted the decision to release. He presumes that this was not done because of the delay in the receipt of the Medical report and of the final views of the Bombay Government and because of the urgent necessity of issuing orders before the debate on the resolution. He wishes the Home Department to consider whether it is desirable now to explain to Local Governments the circumstances which made it impossible to warn them beforehand of the release and of the reasons which prompted it.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) D. E. MONTMORENCY.

To the Hon. Mr. J. Crerar, Esq.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

D. O. No. D-439.

Dated 11th February 1924.

To

The Chief Secretaries of all local Government.

My dear,

It has been represented to the Government of India that embarrassment has been caused to local Governments owing to their having no intimation of the decision to release Mr. Gandhi before the official announcement was made and of the reasons which actuated this step. The Government of India fully appreciate this and regret that they were unable to give previous notice of their intentions which they recognise were bound to have important consequences throughout India. They were unable to do so owing to the late receipt of the medical opinion and of the considered views of the Government of Bombay, to which, as those of the Government most directly and intimately concerned, the greatest weight had naturally to be attached. The latter were only available on the 4th. They were considered with the least possible delay and a further communication was addressed to the Government of Bombay, whose final reply was received on the morning of the 5th, on which date a public announcement was unavoidable. There was therefore no opportunity of giving earlier notice to other Governments, which if circumstances had permitted, the Government of India would have regarded as of the greatest importance.

2. The grounds for release are briefly stated in the announcement. In view of the medical opinion, it was clear that Mr. Gandhi's early reincarceration was impossible while its practicability at the end of a long and indefinite period of convalescence was extremely doubtful. The remaining courses open appeared to be (1) release on conditions ; (2) detention in some form of purely technical imprisonment ; (3) suspension of sentence without conditions ; and (4) unconditional release.

The first was ruled out by the practical certainty that Mr. Gandhi would not accept any conditions. The second, if continued, as was unavoidable, for a prolonged and indefinite period offered little real security and the same was true of the alternative of suspension.

The case had necessarily to be determined primarily on medical grounds and, of the various courses that these grounds permitted, the Government of Bombay, on a general balance of political advantages and risks, preferred the fourth. In view of their representations, and as none of the only possible alternatives then open presented decisive advantages, the Government of India considered it necessary to accept their conclusion.

Yours sincerely.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Received, 20-30 hrs.,  
dated 4th February 1924.

*Telegram.*

No. 439-Poll.,  
dated 4th February 1924.

From

Home, Delhi;

To

Bombay Home, Bombay.

*Clear-the-line—*

The Government of India, in view of the representation made by the Government of Bombay, accept their conclusions and desire that announcement be made in following terms:—

"Government of Bombay have received medical advice that Mr. Gandhi should be removed to the sea-side for prolonged period of convalescence not less than six months in any event. In these circumstance they have decided, with the concurrence of the Government of India, to remit unconditionally under section 401, Code of Criminal Procedure, the unexpired portion of his sentences. Orders will be issued immediately for his release."

The Government of India would be glad to be informed at what time your announcement will issue. Government of India must in any case make it in above terms in Assembly tomorrow morning, 5th February. Arrangements should also be made to ensure that any cabled message transmitted by Reuter to England is in identical terms.

(Sd.),.....

[True copy]

Assistant Secretary,

Home Department (Political).

22-10 hours, 4th February 1924.

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**Order.**

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 401 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, V of 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to remit unconditionally the unexpired portions of the 3 sentences of 2 years' simple imprisonment, the sentences to be consecutive, passed upon Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi by the Sessions Court of Ahmedabad and which sentences he is now



undergoing in Poona, and to direct that he shall be released forthwith.

By order of His Excellency the Right Honourable  
the Governor in Council.

Given at Bombay, this 4th day of February 1924.  
O/C.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

To

The Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison.  
The Civil Surgeon, Poona.  
The Inspector-General of Prisons, Bombay Presidency.  
Copies to:—

The Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad,  
The District Magistrate, Poona,  
The Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Presidency,  
The District Superintendent of Police, Poona,  
The Personal Assistant to the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C. I. D., Poona,  
The Commissioner, Central Division,  
The Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay,  
The Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

*Telegram.*

Dated the 5th February 1924.

To

Crerar, Home, Delhi.  
Announcement issuing at once and will appear in morning papers.

(Sd.) MONTGOMERIE,  
Secretary, Bombay, Home.

*By telegram—*

No. S.D. 154,  
dated 5th February 1924.

To

Commissioner, Sind, Karachi.  
Commissioner, N. D., Ahmedabad  
Commissioner, S. D., Belgaum.  
Distrate, Ahmedabad.  
Dispol, Ahmedabad.

*By Telegram.*

*By telegram—*

P. A. to D. I. G. P., C. I. D., Poona (who will inform Police and Crimbo).  
Commissioner, C. D. (to inform distrate).



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Following Press Note issued early this morning. Begins. Government of Bombay have received medical advice that Mr. Gandhi should be removed to sea-side for prolonged period of convalescence not less than six months in any event. In these circumstances they have decided with the concurrence of the Government of India to remit unconditionally under section 401, Code of Criminal Procedure, the unexpired portion of his sentences. Orders will be issued immediately for his release Ends.

Bombay, Home.

(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,  
Secretary to Government.

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*Bombay Chronicle*, dated 1st March.

Tribute to jail officials: Soulless policy of Government.

It was my intention to publish all the important correspondence I had with the authorities during my incarceration as part of my jail experiences, which I intend to write out if health and time permit. But it is not possible for me to do so for sometime to come. Meanwhile friends have urged me to publish the correspondence without delay. I appreciate the force of their reasoning and therefore present the readers of *Young India* with a portion of it this week. The main part of the contention raised in the letter to Hakimji stands good even in the light of subsequent experience. But in justice to the Jail officials I must add that so far as my physical comfort was concerned progressively better facilities were given to me. Mr. Banker, much to my joy, was restored to me. The marking line referred to in the first letter to Hakimji was done away with, and both of us had a run of the whole yard. On Mr. Banker's discharge, without any request on my part, the then Superintendent Major Jones obtained the Government's permission to send Mr. Mansoor Ali Sookta to me as a companion, a consideration which I very greatly esteemed. For, Mr. Mansoor Ali Sookta was not only a valuable companion, but was also an ideal Urdu teacher for me. Soon after Mr. Indulal Yagnik came and added to our pleasure. Major Jones then transferred us three to the European yard where we had superior accommodation and not a bad garden in front of us. On Mr. Mansur Ali Sookta's discharge, Major Jones' successor Col. Murrery obtained the Government's permission to put Mr. Abdul Gani with me as a companion, who in addition to giving Mr. Yagnik and myself joy replaced Mr. Mansoor Ali Sookta as my Urdu teacher and took great pains in order to improve my Urdu calligraphy. Had my sickness not interrupted the course, he would have made of me a passable Urdu scholar. So far, therefore,

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as my physical comforts were concerned, both the Government and the Jail officials did all that could possibly be expected to make me happy. And if I suffered from illness now and then, it is my firm belief that neither the Government nor the Jail authorities could in any way be blamed. I was allowed to choose my own diet and both Major Jones and Col. Murry, as also in this respect Col. Dalziel, who preceded Major Jones, strictly respected all my scruples about diet. The European jailers too were most attentive and courteous. I cannot recall a single occasion when they can be said to have unduly interfered with me. And even whilst I was subjected to ordinary jail inspection, to which I carefully submitted, they carried it out considerately, and even apologetically. I entertain high regard for both Major Jones and Col. Murray as men. They never let me feel that I was a prisoner.

Subject to what I have said about the kindness of officials, I am unable to revise the estimate I gave in Hakimji's letter about the soulless policy of the Government regarding political prisoners. All I have said in that letter was confirmed by later experience. For proof of this statement the reader must wait till I am able to write out my experiences. My purpose just now is to avoid any the least possibility of the correspondence being so interpreted as to cast any reflection upon the Jail officials or for that matter even upon the Government, so far as my physical well-being was concerned.

I must not close this note without expressing my deep gratitude to the convict warders who were placed in charge of us. Instead of acting as supervisors they rendered me and all my companions every assistance. They will not allow us to do any labour in the shape of cleaning the cells, etc. I shall have to say more about them in my experiences, but I cannot restrain myself against mentioning the name of Gangappa. He became a most efficient nurse to me. His scrupulous regard to every detail, his always anticipating every want of mine, his readiness to serve me at all hours of the night, his loving nature, his strict honesty and his general observance of the Jail rules and the Jail discipline commanded my admiration. I wonder how society can punish a man capable of showing such lofty character and how a Government can keep such a man in prison. Gangappa is unlettered. He is not a political prisoner. He was convicted of murder, or some such crime. But I must not pursue this subject any further. I must postpone its consideration to a future date. I have mentioned Gangappa merely to pay my humble tribute to fellow prisoners like him.

Poona, 26th February 1924.

M. K. GANDHI.

*(Bombay Chronicle, dated 5th March).*

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"A SOULLESS SYSTEM".

'MAHATMA GANDHI ON PRISON TREATMENT.

**A picture of jail life.**

(From *Young India*)—

(We are thankful that the pleasure and the privilege of publishing what we hope is only the first chapter of Mr. Gandhi's fresh "Jail Experiences" belongs to us. Letter No. 1 is the letter Mr. Gandhi addressed to Hakimji in April 1922. It was returned because the Government would not send it unless Mr. Gandhi removed material parts of it. Letter No. 2 is the one addressed to the Government questioning the validity of the grounds on which they refused to send letter No. 1, No. 3 is what should have been Mr. Gandhi's "first and last" letter from jail. Letter No. 4 is a request to Government to return the unposted "first and last.")

As we go to the press the post bring in Mr. Gandhi's introductory note to this correspondence. We publish this on the front page. The readers will please read this correspondence in connection with that note.

Editor, "*Young India*.").

I

**"The Permitted Letter" to Hakimji.**

Yeroda Gaol,  
14th April (1922).

Dear Hakimji,

Prisoners are allowed one visit every three months and to write and receive one letter during the same period. I have had a visit from Devadas and Rajagopalachari. And I am now writing the permitted letter.

You will remember that Mr. Banker and I were convicted on the 18th March on a Saturday. On Monday night about 10 p.m. we received notice that we were to be removed to an unknown destination. At 11-30 p.m. the Superintendent of Police took us to the special that was awaiting us at Sabarmati. We were given a basket of fruit for the journey and we were well looked after during the whole journey. The doctor of the Sabarmati Gaol had allowed me for health and religious reasons the food to which I am used, and Mr. Banker bread and milk and fruit for medical reasons. Cow's milk for Mr. Banker and goat's for me were therefore ordered on the way by the Deputy Superintendent who was escorting us.

We were taken off at Khirki where a prison van was waiting to take' us to the goal from where I am writing this.

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**"Yeroda not Sabarmati".**

I had heard bad accounts of this gaol from ex-prisoners and was therefore prepared to face difficulties in my path. I had told Mr. Banker that if my hand-spinning was stopped, I would have to refuse food as I had taken a vow on the Hindu New Year's Day to spin every day at least for half an hour except when I was ill or travelling. He should not, therefore, I told him, be shocked, if I had to refuse food and that he should on no account join me out of false sympathy. He had seen my viewpoint.

We were not therefore surprised when on reaching the gaol about 5-30 p.m. I was told by the Superintendent that he could not allow the spinning wheel which was with us nor could be allowed to take the fruit that was with us. I pointed out that hand-spinning was a matter of vow with me and that as a matter of fact both of us were permitted to do it everyday at the Sabarmati Gaol. There upon we were told Yeroda was not Sabarmati.

**"No accommodation for human sentiment".**

I told the Superintendent too that both of us were permitted at the Sabarmati Gaol for health reasons to sleep outside, but that was not to be expected at this gaol.

Thus the first impression was rather unhappy. I felt however totally undisturbed. The semi-fast of Tuesday following that of Monday did me no harm. I know that Mr. Banker felt it. He has night terrors and requires some one near him. And this was his first rough experience in life perhaps. I am a seasoned jail-bird.

The Superintendent came the next morning to question us. I saw that the first impression did not do justice to the Superintendent. The previous evening he was evidently in a hurry. We were received after the regular time and he was totally unprepared for what was undoubtedly to him a strange request. He discovered however that my request for the spinning wheel was not a matter of cussedness but rightly or wrongly a real religious necessity. He saw too that it was no question of hunger-striking. He gave orders that the spinning wheels should be restored to both of us. He realised too that both of us would need the diet we had mentioned.

And so far as I have been able to observe the animal comforts are well looked after in this gaol. Both the Superintendent and the Gaoler appear to me to be tactful and have pleasant manners. The first day's experience I count as of no consequence. The relations between the Superintendent and the Gaoler and myself are as cordial as they can be between a prisoner and his keepers.

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But it is evident to me that the human element is largely if not entirely absent in the gaol system. The Superintendent informs me that all prisoners are treated as I am treated. If that is so, as animals prisoners could hardly be better cared for. But for the human sentiment there is no accommodation in the Gaol Regulations.

**"Nonsensical".**

This is what the Gaol Committee consisting of the Collector, a clergyman and some others did the next morning. This Committee met quite by coincidence the very next day after our admission. The members came to find our needs. I mentioned that Mr. Banker suffered from nervousness and that he should be kept with me and that his cell should be kept open. I cannot describe to you the contemptuous and callous indifference with which the request was treated. As the members turned their backs upon us one of them remarked " non-sensical ". They knew nothing of Mr. Banker's past or his position in life or of his upbringing. It was none of their business to find all this out and to discover the cause for what appeared to me to be the most natural request. It was certainly of greater importance for him than his food that he should be able to have undisturbed rest at night.

**" Deprived of her only child".**

Within one hour after the interview a warder came ordering Mr. Banker to be removed to another quarter. I felt like a mother suddenly deprived of her only child. It was by a stroke of good fortune that Mr. Banker was arrested with me and that we were tried together. At Sabarmati I had written to the District Magistrate that I would deem it a courtesy if the authorities did not separate Mr. Banker from me and had told him that we could be mutually helpful if he was kept with me. I was reading the Gita with him and he was nursing my weak body Mr. Banker lost his mother only few months ago. When I met her a few days before her death, she said she would die in peace as her son would be quite safe under my care. Little did the noble lady know how utterly powerless I would prove to protect her son in the hour of his need. As Mr. Banker left me, I entrusted him to God's care and assured him that God would take care of him and protect him.

He has been since permitted to come to me for about half an hour to teach me carding which he knows. This he does in the presence of a warder in order to see that we do not talk about anything else than the purpose for which he is brought to me.

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### **Books and periodicals.**

I am trying to coax the Inspector-General and the Superintendent to let me read the Gita with Mr. Banker during the few minutes he is allowed to come. This request is under consideration.

In fairness to the authorities I must mention that Mr. Banker's animal comforts are well looked after and that he is looking not bad at all. He is gradually losing his nervousness.

It has required the use of all my tact to retain possession of seven books, five of which are purely religious and the other two are an old dictionary I prize and an Urdu manual presented to me by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Strict orders given to the Superintendent were that prisoners were not to be allowed any books save the gaol library books. I was given the option of presenting the said seven books to the gaol library and then using them. Whilst I was prepared to do so with my other books, I gently told the Superintendent that to ask me to present religious books which I was using or gifts with a history was like asking me to give up my right arm. I do not know how much tact the Superintendent had to use in persuading his superiors to let me retain those books.

I am now told that I could import at my own expense periodicals. I had said a newspaper was a periodical. He seemed to agree but he had his doubts about a newspaper being allowed. I had not the courage to mention the *Chronicle* weekly. But I mentioned the *Times of India* weekly. That seemed to the Superintendent to be too political. I could name the Police News, Tit Bits or Blackwood's. This matter is however quite beyond the Superintendent's province. What is to be considered a periodical will probably be finally decided by His Excellency the Governor in Council.

### **Knife—A lethal weapon.**

Then there was the question of the use of a knife. If I was to toast my bread (I could not digest it without) I must cut it up in slices and if I was to squeeze my lemons I must cut them also. But a knife was a "lethal weapon" and most dangerous in the hands of a prisoner. I gave the Superintendent the option of withdrawing bread and lemons or giving me the use of a knife. At last the use of my own penknife has been restored to me. It has to remain in the custody of my convict warder to be given to me whenever I may require it. It goes back to the Gaoler every evening and comes back every morning to the convict warder.

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### **An interesting species.**

You may not know the species. Convict warders are those long term prisoners who by their good behaviour may be given a warder's dress and may be under supervision entrusted with light responsibilities. One such warder who has been convicted for a murder is in charge of me during the day and another reminding me of Shaukat Ali's size is added for night duty. This addition was made when the Inspector-General at last decided to leave my cell open. Both the warders are quite inoffensive. They never interfere with me. And I never engage in any conversation with them. I have to speak to the day warder for some of my wants. But beyond that I have no intercourse with them.

I am in a triangular block. One side (the longest) of the triangle which falls west has eleven cells. I have as my companion in the yard an Arabian State prisoner (I suppose). He does not speak Hindustani. I unfortunately do not know Arabic; therefore our intercourse is restricted to morning greetings. The base of this triangle is a solid wall and the shortest side is a barbed wire fence with a gate opening on a spacious open ground. The triangle is divided by a lime line beyond which I was not to go. Thus I had about seventy feet length for exercise. As an illustration of the want of human touch I mentioned the white line to Mr. Khambata, the Cantonment Magistrate, who is one of the visiting Magistrates. He did not like the restriction and reported likewise. The whole length of the triangle is now open for exercise to me giving me probably 140 feet length. My eyes are set upon the open space just mentioned. But that is perhaps too human to be permissible. Any way seeing that the white line is gone, the barbed wire fence, may, I have suggested, be disregarded so far as my exercise is concerned. It is rather a ticklish problem for the Superintendent and he is taking time to consider it.

### **"An isolation prisoner".**

The fact is I am an isolation prisoner. I must not talk with anybody. Some of the Dharwar prisoners are in this gaol, so is the great Gangadhar Rao of Belgaum. Verumal Begraj, the reformer of Sukker is also in this gaol and so is Lalit, one of the Bombay editors. I cannot see any of them. What harm I can do to them if I live in their midst I do not know. They can certainly do me no harm. We cannot plot our escape. It will be just the thing the authorities would relish, if we did plot. If it is a question of infecting them with my views, they are all sufficiently inoculated. Here in the gaol I could only make them more enthusiastic about the spinning wheel.



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But if I have mentioned my isolation to you, it is not by way of complaint. I am happy in it. By nature I like solitude. Silence pleases me. And I am able to indulge in studies which I prize but which I was bound to neglect outside.

But not all prisoners can enjoy isolation. It is so unnecessary and unhuman. The fault lies in the false classification. All prisoners are practically grouped together and no Superintendent however humane he may be can possibly do justice to the variety of men and women that come under his custody and care, unless he has a free hand. Therefore the only thing he does is to study their bodies to the entire neglect of the man within.

Add to this the fact that the gaols are being prostituted for political ends so that political persecution follows a political prisoner even inside the prison wall.

#### **The routine.**

I must finish the picture of my gaol life by giving you the routine. The cell itself is nice-quite clean and airy. The permission to sleep outside is a blessing to me being used to sleeping in the open. I rise at 4 a.m. for prayers. The Ashram people will be interested to know that I recite the morning verses unflinchingly and sing some of those hymns I have by heart. At 6-30 a.m. I commence my studies. No light is allowed. As soon therefore one can read, I commence work. It stops at 7 p.m. after which it is impossible to read or write without artificial light. I retire at 8 p.m. after the usual Ashram prayer. My studies include reading the Kuran, Ramayana by Tulsidas, books on Christianity given by Mr. Standing, study of Urdu. These literary studies receive six hours. Four hours are given to hand-spinning and carding. At first I gave only 30 minutes to spinning when I had only a limited supply of slivers. The authorities have kindly given me some cotton. It is exceptionally dirty. It is perhaps good training for a beginner in carding. I give one hour to carding and three to spinning. Anasuyabai and now Maganlal Gandhi have sent slivers. I would like them to stop sending slivers, but one of them may send good clean cotton, not more than two pounds at a time. I am anxious to make my own slivers. I think that every spinner should learn carding. I was able to card after one lesson. It is harder to practice but much easier to learn than spinning.

#### **Coming nearer to God.**

This spinning is growing on me, I seem daily to be coming nearer to the poorest of the poor and to that extent to God. I regard the four hours to be the most profitable part of the day. The fruit of my labour is visible before me. Not an impure thought



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enters my mind during the four hours. The mind wanders whilst I read the Gita, the Kuran, the Ramayana. But the mind is fixed whilst I am turning the wheel, or working the bow. I know that it may not and cannot mean all this to everyone. I have so identified the spinning wheel with the economic salvation of pauper India, that it has for me a fascination all its own. There is a serious competition going on in my mind between spinning and carding on the one hand and literary pursuits on the other. And I should not be surprised if in my next letter I report to you an increase in the hours of spinning and carding.

Please tell Maulana Abdul Ban Saheb that I expect him to compete with me in spinning which he informed he had just taken up. His example will lead many to take up this great occupation as a duty.

The Ashram people may be informed that I have finished the primer I promised to write. I presume that I shall be permitted to send it to them. I hope to be able to overtake the religious primer I promised to write as also the history of the struggle in South Africa.

#### **Books for a pillow.**

Instead of three, for the sake of convenience, I am taking two meals only here. But I am taking quite enough. The Superintendent is offering every convenience in the shape of food. For the last three days, he has procured for me goat's milk, butter and I expect in a day or two to be baking my own chapatis.

I am allowed two perfectly new warm heavy blankets, a coir mat and two sheets. A pillow has been added since. It was hardly necessary. I used books or my extra clothing as a pillow. The latter has been added as a result of the conversation with Rajgopalachari. There is privacy for bathing which is allowed daily. A separate cell is allowed as a work room whilst it is not otherwise required. Sanitary arrangements have been made perfect.

Friends therefore need not worry about me in any way whatsoever. I am as happy as a bird. Nor do I think I am doing less useful service here than outside. To be here is good discipline for me and separation from co-workers was just the thing required to know whether we were an organic whole or whether our activity was one man's show—a nine day's wonder. I have no misgivings. I have therefore no curiosity to know what is happening outside. And if my prayers are true and from a humble heart, they I know are infinitely more efficacious than any amount of meddlesome activity.

I am anxious about Das's health. I shall always have cause for complaint against his good partner that she did not keep me informed of his health. Motilalji's asthma I hope has left him.

**The proud and sensitive boy.**

Do please persuade Mrs. Gandhi not to think of visiting me. Devadas created a scene when he visited me. He could not brook the idea of my standing in the Superintendent's office when he was brought in. The proud and sensitive boy burst out w\*eping aloud and it was with difficulty I could restrain him. He should have realised that I was a prisoner and as such I had no right to sit in the presence of the Superintendent. Seats might and should have been offered to Rajgopalachari and Devadas. But I am sure there was no discourtesy intended. I do not suppose it is usual for the Superintendent to supervise such interviews. But in my case evidently he wanted to run no risks. I would not like the scene to be repeated by Mrs. Gandhi nor do I want a special favour to be done in my case by a seat being offered. Dignity I am sure, consists in my standing. And we must yet wait for a while before the British people naturally and heartily extend the delicate courtesies to us in every walk of life. I am not at all anxious to have visitors and I would like friends and relations to restrain themselves. Business visits may always be paid under circumstances adverse or otherwise.

I hope Chhotani Mian has distributed the spinning wheels donated by him among poor Mussalman women in Panchmahals, East Khandesh and Agra. I forget the names the missionary lady who wrote to me from Agra. Kristodas may remember.

I shall soon finish the Urdu manual. Would prize a good Urdu dictionary (and any book you or Dr. Ansari may choose).

Please tell Shuaib I am at ease about him.

I do hope you are keeping well. To hope that you are not overworking yourself is to hope for the impossible I can, therefore only pray that God will keep you in health in spite of the strain.

With love to every one of the workers.

Your sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

II

**Prisoner's protest.**

From

Prisoner No. 8677 ;

To

The Government of Bombay. With reference to the Government orders passed on prisoner's letter to Hakimji Ajmalkhan, a friend of prisoner, and returning

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said letter to prisoner with certain remarks in the said orders read out to prisoner by the Superintendent of Yeroda gaol, prisoner No. 8677 begs to say that an application to the Superintendent for a copy of the said orders, he says he has no authority to give prisoner a copy thereof.

Prisoner would like to possess a copy of the said orders and send one to friends so that they may know under what circumstances prisoner has been unable to send to friends a letter of welfare. Prisoner hereby applies for instructions to the Superintendent to give him a copy of the said orders.

Regarding the orders so far as prisoner recollects and understands them the Government base their refusal to send prisoner's letter to its destination on the ground that as (i) the letter contains reference to prisoners other than prisoner himself, and (ii) the letter is likely to give rise to political controversy.

With regard to the first ground, prisoner submits that the letter contains no references that are not strictly relevant to prisoner's own personal condition and welfare.

With regard to the second ground prisoner respectfully contends that the possibility of a public controversy cannot be a valid ground to deprive a prisoner of the right of sending a quarterly letter of welfare to friends and relatives. The implication of the ground is in prisoner's opinion dangerous in the extreme; it being that an Indian prison is a secret Department. Prisoner contends that Indian prisons are an open public department subject to criticism by the public in the same manner as any other department.

Prisoner contends that his said letter is strictly one containing information regarding his personal welfare. References to other prisoners were necessary to complete the information. Prisoner would gladly correct misstatement or exaggeration if any be discovered to him. But to send the letter in the mutilated manner suggested by the Government would be to give an erroneous idea of his condition to his friends. Unless therefore, the Government will forward prisoner's letter subject to such corrections that may be found necessary, prisoner has no desire to exercise the right of sending to friends a letter of welfare which right becomes of doubtful value under the restrictions imposed by the Government under the said orders.

Yeroda Gaol,  
12th May 1922.

(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI,  
Prisoner No. 8677.

## III

**"My first and last".**

Yeroda Gaol, 12th May 1923.

Dear Hakimji,

I wrote to you on 14th April a long letter giving you full information about myself. It contained messages among others to Mrs. Gandhi and Devadas. The Government have just passed orders refusing to send the letter unless I would remove material parts of it. They have given grounds for their decision, but as a copy of the order has been refused to me, I cannot send them to you nor can I give you the grounds so far as I recollect.

I have written to the Government questioning the validity of their grounds and offering to correct misstatement or exaggeration in my letter if any is discovered to me. I have told them too that if I cannot send my letter without mutilation, I have no desire to write even regulation letters to friends, which then become of doubtful value. Unless therefore, the Government revise their decision this intimation must be my first and last from the gaol to you or other friends.

Hoping you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI,  
Prisoner No. 8677.

## IV

**"Three matters pending".**

To

The Superintendent, Yeroda Central Gaol.

Sir,

There are regarding myself three matters pending for some time.

(1) In May last I wrote to my friend Hakimji Ajmalkhan of Delhi the usual quarterly letter. The Government decline to forward it unless I cut out portion rejected to by them. As I considered the portions strictly relevant to my condition in the gaol I could not see my way to remove them and I respectfully notified to the Government that I did not propose to avail myself of the privilege or the right of sending my friend the usual letter unless I could give him a full description of my condition. At the same time I wrote a brief letter to my friend saying that the letter I had written to him was disallowed and that I did not propose to write any letter regarding my welfare unless the Government removed the restrictions imposed by them. This second letter, too, the Government have declined to send. It is this second letter which I have asked should be returned to me as the first has been.

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(2) After having received permission from Col. Dalziel to write a vernacular primer and the assurance that there would be no objection to my sending it to my friends for publication, I wrote the primer and gave it to Col. Dalziel for dispatch to the address mentioned in the covering letter. The Government have declined to send the primer to the address given, on the ground that prisoners cannot be permitted to publish books whilst they are serving their term. I have no wish to see my name on the primer as publisher or author. If the primer may not be published even without my name being connected with it in any way, I would like it returned to me.

(3) The Government were pleased to notify that I could be allowed periodicals ; therefore asked for permission to send for the *Times of India* weekly, the *Modern Review*—a high class Calcutta monthly, and the *Saraswati*—a Hindi magazine. The last named has been kindly allowed. No decision has yet been received regarding the other two. I am anxiously awaiting the Government decision about them.

I remain,  
Yours obediently,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Yeroda Gaol,  
12th August 1922.

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D. O. No. 1399-Poll.,  
Government of India,  
Home Department (Political).  
Dated Simla, the 5th May 1924.

From

T. SLOAN, Esquire, I.C.S.,  
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India ;

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home (Poll.) Department.

Sir,

The Government of India have received notice of a question to be asked in the Legislative Assembly during the ensuing session as to whether any instructions were issued to the Telegraph Department forbidding the delivery of messages relating to the release of Mr. Gandhi before 11 a.m. on the day of his release.

2. The Government of India issued no such instructions ; and I am to enquire whether the Government of Bombay did.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) .....

Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.

H. D. (Poll.).

*Submitted—*

(through H. D. Proper and S. B.).

There is nothing in H. D. (Proper) on this subject.

(Sd.) .....

10th May.

Papers relating to Mr. Gandhi's release will be found in file No. 355 (35)-N, put up.

2. No such instructions as are mentioned by the Government of India were issued to the Telegraph Department. The Government of India may be so informed. Draft with F. C. put up.

(Sd.) .....

Secretary.

13th May.

No. S.D. 651.

Home Department (Political),  
Mahabeshwar, 14th May 1924.

From

A. MONTGOMERIE, Esquire, CLE., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay ;

To

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department (Political).

Sir,

In reply to Mr. Sloan's letter No. 1399-Poll., dated the 5th May 1924, I am directed by the Governor in Council to inform you that no instructions were issued by this Government to the Telegraph Department forbidding the delivery of message relating to the release of Mr. Gandhi before 11 a.m. on the day of his release.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Sd.) A. MONTGOMERIE,

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department (Political).

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**SECTION III****Bombay Secret Abstract.****1924***Page 35, para. 81—*

*January 11.*—It is rumoured in Poona City that Government has asked Gandhi if he is prepared to accept release on conditions similar to those imposed upon V. D. Savarkar and that Gandhi has declined the offer, as, he says, he is as happy at Yeravda as he would be at Sabarmati. Government is said to be now considering his unconditional release. The reason given for this move on the part of Government is that a resolution for the release of Gandhi is shortly to be moved in the Assembly. This resolution is certain to be passed by a large majority and Government will not be able to veto it for fear of becoming still more unpopular. The fact that the Labour Party is now coming into power adds of course to the difficulties of the situation.

*Page 60, para. 136—*

*January 25.*—It is rumoured in Poona that Gandhi has advised N. C. Kelkar and Lala Lajpatrai not to work in the Councils for his release, as he personally is quite content to remain in jail, and is certainly not prepared to accept any release to which conditions may be attached. In spite of this, however, the Swarajists intend to try to obtain the release of the Mahatma more with the idea of making Government unpopular than with that of conferring a benefit upon Gandhi. It is also said that His Excellency the Viceroy in this connection has advised His Excellency the Governor of Bombay that the release or otherwise of Gandhi is purely a provincial question and that the Government of India do not propose to interfere in the decision of the local Government in the matter.

*Page 68, para. 156—*

*January 31.*—The outstanding event of the week has been the operation for appendicitis performed upon Gandhi at the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, on the night of January 12. The general impression in Poona was that the operation was one for piles. Whatever the impression was, however, the general public took little interest in it, judging by the absence of any crowd near the hospital. When the seriousness of the case became more general, public interest increased and later on reached a considerable pitch. The success of the operation and the treatment which has been accorded to the Mahatma by the hospital and jail authorities has resulted in a wave of popularity in favour of the latter, particularly of Colonel Maddock. In connection with the Mahatma's illness a large number of Khilafat leaders have visited Poona including



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Shaukat Ali, Mohamed All, Bi-Aman, (Bi-Amma) Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Mahmood and Hakim Ajmal Khan.

January 18 was observed throughout the Presidency and Sind as a day of prayer for the recovery and release of Gandhi. In every place of any size meetings were held for this purpose. Five meetings were held in Bombay City alone on this subject the meeting on Chowpatty Sands being attended by 5,000 people. Ahmedabad came next with a meeting in the Manek Chowk of 2,000 persons: a meeting of Mahommedans having been held at the same place in the Juma Masjid.

The' general tone of the speeches was moderate, but a strong impression seemed to be present that Government would seize this opportunity of releasing the Mahatma. There is no doubt that owing to illness, Gandhi's stock is again at a premium. *Page 103, para. 221. Section (12)*—

*Bombay City. S. B., February 5.*—The news of Gandhi's release has not yet reached all parts of the city as it has been published by only a few newspapers so far, but wherever it has reached it is being received with the greatest delight and His Excellency the Governor is being complimented on his liberality since his arrival here. Even orthodox non-co-operators are delighted and say that the Swarajists have now nothing to fight for in the Legislative Assembly. As regards the cancellation of the proposed Gandhi month (February 18 March 18) nothing has yet been decided and it is not likely to be decided until the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee meets in a day or two.

The Share Bazar is closed by way of rejoicing. The share-brokers collected Rs. 500 on the spot to feed the cows. Sweets were also distributed.

The Bullion Bazar and a few cotton association at Sheikh Memon Street have stopped business.

The Cloth Markets and jewellery *bazars* are closed on account of *Amavasya* holiday which falls to-day.

Mahomed Ali is issuing a message to the *Chronicle*. He left for Poona this morning, presumably to see Gandhi.

The illiterate have a story that as Gandhi's horoscope was inauspicious for the next year or so, Government were afraid that he might die on their hands and bring them discredit.

*Page 121, para. 255*—

*Poona, February 18.*—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was released on February 4 unconditionally, the unexpired portions of the three sentences of 2 years' simple imprisonment the sentences to be consecutive, passed upon him by the Sessions Court of Ahmedabad being remitted by Government.



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(1-a) *Sind C. I. D., February 5.*—Gandhi's release was celebrated by a public meeting at the Khalikdina Hall on February 5, 1924, when speeches were made in which there was much speculation as to the reason for his release and many theories were advanced. Each wing of the Congress namely Swarajists and No-changers claimed the event as a victory for itself. The former seemed to consider that the pressure (possibly more potential than actual as yet) brought to bear by them on Government through the Councils was the prime-mover; while the latter inclined to attribute it to the people's universal demand and the possibility of *Satyagraha*, which may have led Government to take the line of least resistance. Jawharmal Totiram Mansukhani *alias* Swami Govindanand presided over the meeting. The Karachi Municipal office and schools and the D. J. Sind College were closed immediately on receipt of the news. The students of the college assembled in the hall, prayed for Gandhi's recovery, and sent a congratulatory telegram to him.

Now that Gandhi has been released, the proposed "Gandhi month" from February 18 to March 18 may be dropped in Sind lest it should fall flat as it would be largely meaningless.

(2) *Karachi Headquarters, February 9.*—A calendar issued over the signature of Parshottam Rauji, recounting the story of Gandhi's illness, treatment and recovery, was sold by him for one anna per copy. In pressing the sale he described the Governor as "papi" and said that he had released Gandhi under pressure of public opinion, and that the illness of Gandhi was aggravated by the carelessness of the authorities,

(3) *Hyderabad, February 9.*—A meeting of about 1,500 persons was held at Hyderabad on February 6 to celebrate the release of Gandhi, Jeramdas Daulatram presided. There was a feeling of joy that Gandhi had been released, but sorrow that his release had been due to the clemency of Government. Considerable optimism prevailed as to his ability to invigorate the non-co-operation movement and to bridge over Hindu-Muslim differences.

(4) *Nawabshah, February 9.*—Meetings were held at Naushahre on February 5 and 6, at Shahpur on February 6, at Tando Adam on February 7 and Kumblima on February 9 to celebrate the release of Gandhi.

*Page 125, para. 256 (17, 18)*—

*Sholapur, February 9.*—A display of fireworks was given at Barsi by the Municipality to celebrate the release of Gandhi. The bazar was illuminated.

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Meetings to celebrate the release were also held at Sholapur, Pundarpur, Madha and Sangola. At the Sholapur meeting a few caps and European clothes were burnt. No particular enthusiasm was aroused at these meetings.

*Bijapur, February 9.*—A procession and a meeting was held at Bijapur on February 5 to celebrate the release of Gandhi.

Similar processions and meetings were held at Bagalkot, Hungund, Bilgi and Guledgud. The Bijapur meeting was attended by about 1,500 persons. S. V. Koujalgi was the only speaker. He told the audience that the Khaddar Board was expected to arrive at Bijapur in a few days when he urged everybody to go to the railway station in khadi to meet them. He warned the audience that if Gandhi became aware of the present unsatisfactory state of the non-cooperation movement he might retire to jail and spend his remaining four years there.

*Page 160, para. 330 (2)*—Karachi—Feb. 23.

(2) God is one Sat-Guru Parshad—Jaitu Shahidi Jatha.

The following is a summary of the information received from Amritsar:—

"The Jatha calling out Satnam Shri Wahguru proceeded in the direction of Gurudwara Shiri Gangsar. When the Jatha reached the Shiri Tibi Saib Gurudwara situated at a distance of two furlongs from Shri Gangsar, a European administrator of Nabha arrived accompanied by cavalry and state officers and checked the progress of the Shahidi Jatha and ordered them to disperse, warning them that if they persisted in their onward journey they would be fired on. The Jatha persisted and advanced towards the Gurudwara. At this the order to fire was given by the Nabha Administrator. About 40 or 50 were killed. The Jatha continued to advance towards the Gurudwara, patiently, in face of the fire calling out " Satnam Shri Wahguru.". Other casualties and the number of wounded are still unknown. The remainder of the Jatha were severely beaten, rendered unconscious], roped, and removed to the fort.

All Akalis are gathering at Shri Akal-Takht. This information is broadcasted with great love. It is learned that another Shahidi Jatha of 500 has been organised and will start very soon for Jaitu. Dr. Bhatia, Partabsing and Santdas have left for Jaitu by motor to assist the wounded. Dr. Kitchlew and Professor Gidwani have been arrested."

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The following telegram has been received by the Secretary of the Sikh League, Amritsar:—"The Jaitu Shahidi Jatha proceeded under fire towards Gangsar Jaitu with shouts of Satnam Shri Wahguru with patience and non-violence up to the last. The casualties are not known. Remainder of Jatha taken to fort, beaten unconscious, and roped. Dr. Kitchlew and Professor Gidwani both arrested."

A mourning procession in honour of Shahidi-Jatha will start at 5 p.m. under the auspices of the Khilafat and Congress Committees and Sikh League, Karachi on February 24. All are cordially invited to make it successful and to give proof of their being Sikhs."

*Page 162, para. 336—*

*Poona, February 23.*—Maulana Abdul Azad Sobhani who arrived on February 18, Lala Lajpatrai who arrived on February 21 and Pandit Motilal Nehru, who arrived on February 23, were the three people of note who visited Gandhi during the week. It is learned that the latter intends making a statement of his views on the Akali question as well as on two other points not known to my informer and then to retire from active politics until he is recovered.

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 6.*—The *Bombay Chronicle* of February 26 contains a message addressed by Gandhi to the Akalis. In this he expresses his deep regret with regard to the catastrophe at Jaitu and his sympathy with the Akalis in their struggle for religious freedom. "Without full facts before me I am unable to say whether the march of a large number of men in order to pay devotion to the shrine of Gangsar at Jaitu was or was not justified." He goes on to warn the Akalis against violence in any form—indeed his letter conveys the impression that he rather suspects the Akalis of not being as entirely non-violent as they profess to be.

The general impression created by this letter was an unfavourable one, and it was supposed that Gandhi had misunderstood the situation owing to the incorrect information received from Lala Lajpatrai, who is at present in Poona.

An officer of this Department reports that in discussing Gandhi's letter to the Akalis to suspend the despatch of Jathas to Jaitu it is said that Gandhi had no business to send that letter to the Akalis at Amritsar. He had not personally gone to the Punjab to study the situation. The Akalis were right in disregarding his message, and if he were to meddle like this any more he would one day find himself thrown overboard.

## CELEBRATIONS ON ACCOUNT OF GANDHI'S RELEASE

*A table showing district, town, date, etc.*

*Pages Nos. 140 to 142, para. 290—*

District.	Town.	Date.	Audience.	No. of Meeting.	Remarks.
Karachi Head quarters	Karachi City	February 12	Not stated	?	The boys of the depressed Classes in Ranchore Lines were fed as a thanks giving for M. K. Gandhi's release.
Larkana	Sehwan	February 6	17	1	Resolutions were passed (1) expressing pleasure at the release of the "uncrowned king" of India and congratulated all communities thereon, and (2) thanking Colonel Maddock. These resolutions were passed at the instance of Dwarkaprasad of Dadu.
Larkana	Dadu	February 6	150	1	Ramzan Allidino Mirabhar and Dwarkadas expressed regret that Gandhi had not been released by their own efforts.
Thar Parkar	Mirpurkhas	February 10	Not stated	1	Sweetmeats were distributed and the meeting terminated with a prayer for Gandhi's complete recovery and long life.
Kathiawar	Rajkot State	February 11	250	1	--
Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad City	February 10	2,000	1	Vallabhbhai J. Patel in his speech said that some Government officials are of opinion that Gandhi is working for violence. If so they are badly mistaken. We bear no malice towards Government or any officers. He alluded to the kindness with which Gandhi was being treated by European doctors and nurses. He also said that there are some white-caps who also believe that Gandhi is preparing the way to violence. It is hoped that in time to come the English people would win over the Mahatma's way of thinking.

Ahmedabad	River-bed	February 10	500	?	Vallabhbhai J. Patel again spoke on similar line Abbas Tyabji urged the operatives to practise the use of "charkhas" in view of the present trade depression.
Panch Mahals	Godhra	February 10	10	1	--
Do.	Dohad	Do.	10	1	--
Broach	Broach	Do.	400	1	Resolutions thanking God, than the Governor and Colonel Maddock for the recovery and release of Gandhi were passed.
Surat	Surat	February 10	Not	1	--
Do.	Bardoli	Do.	Do.	1	--
Surat	Sarbhon	February 10	Do.	1	Offered thanks giving prayers on the release and recovery of Gandhi. His Excellency the Governor was congratulated on Ms sympathetic polioy.
Bombay Suburban Area.	Santa Cruz	February 9	Do.	1	Prayers were offered for Gandhi's speedy recovery.
Do.	Bandra	February 10	Do.	1	Do. do.
Do.	Ville Parle	February 10	Do.	1	Do. do.
Nasik	Nasik	February 10	200	1	--
Ahmednagar	Sangamner	February 5	1,000	1	Ramakrishnadas Buwa made some objectionable remarks saying that "The White have released Gandhi through selfish motives. There should be bloodshed. The Sub-Inspector reports that most of the audience did not approve of his manner of speaking and considered that his remarks were quite inconsistent for the occasion. (Detailed notes of his speech have been forwarded to Government).
Ahmednagar	Ahmednag	February 5	400	1	Gave thanks for Gandhi's release.

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 CELEBRATIONS ON ACCOUNT OF GANDHI'S RELEASE—*contd.*

District.	Town.	Date.	Audience.	No. of Meeting.	Remarks.
Ahmednagar	Ahmednagar	February 10	350	1	Ramkrishnadas Buwa opened his address by saying that to-day had been fixed by the Secretary of the Maharashtra Congress Committee for holding meetings to express joy at Gandhi's unconditional release. Let them therefore express joy and pray to God for his speedy recovery. No body had released him from jail but it was Truth and Truth alone that had released him. Perhaps some one might say it was the new Governor. But it was not so. To show that they were really in earnest they should enrol some 3,000 members for the Congress and then Gandhi could see that they really were earnest.
Poona	Reay Market	February 10 ..	400	1	Expressed gratification at the release of the Mahatma as the act of the Almighty God, no credit being given to Government.
Bijapur	Shideshwar Temple	February 10	600	1	The speakers on this occasion were (1) Rao Bhadur Raghavendra Krishna Khembhavi (2) Krishnarao Hanmant Mudvekar. They harped on Gandhis qualities, and said that if all of them followed him, Government would have come to terms by now. They advised the audience to use khaddar and the removal of untouchability.
Satara	Wai	February 6	Not stated	1	The key note of the speeches was thanks to Government.
Belgaum	Athni	February 6	Do.	1	They expressed joy at the release of Gandhi and urged the audience to wear khaddar.
Dharwar	Dharwar	February 6	25	1	--
Dharwar	Karnatik Press	February 5	550		→ Prayed for speedy recovery of Gandhi and thanked God and not Government for his release.

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Dharwar	Karnatik Press	February 10	530	1	A resolution was passed that Government be thanked for their good deed of releasing Mahatma Gandhi.
Kanara	Karwar	February 10	1,000	1	--
Do.	Ankola	Do.	Not stated]	1	--
Do.	Kumta	Do.	Do.	1	--
Do.	Malyal	Do.	Do.	1	--
Ratnagiri	Sangameshwar	February 5	35	1	Resolution praying for Gandhi's long life etc.
Ratnagiri	Malwan	February 5	200	1	Resolution praying for Gandhi's long life, etc.
Do.	Shiroda	February 6	30	1	Do. do.
Do.	Vengurla	February 10	10	1	A resolution was put forward by members of the Municipal Committee that Government be thanked for Gandhi's release and Colonel Maddock for the pain he took during his illness.
Ratnagiri	Ratnagiri	February 11	40 Ladies.	1	Joy was expressed at the release of Gandhi, and Savarkar also.
Kolaba	Nagothna	February 7	30	1	--
Do.	Mahad	February 10	75	1	--
Do.	Karjat	February 5	25	1	--
Do.	Khalapur	February 6	50	1	--
Do.	Matheran	February 10	50	1	--
Do.	Kolaba	February	25	1	Conveyed the message of Gandhi to the people.

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*Page, 200, para. 402—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 14.*—L. B. Bhopatkar having learnt of N. C. Kelkar's tactics to win over Gandhi (presumably the Gandhi-Nehru interview), wrote to the latter that Gandhi, though a great man of his age, was very slippery and did not like going back on his own words whatever the consequences, as evinced by his conduct at the time of the Ahmedabad riots and the Chauri-Chaura affair. It was, therefore, safe to keep him where he was.

Kelkar, in consultation with Pandit Motilal Nehru, wrote back that the Swarajists had already revolted against Gandhi, and there was therefore no reason to fear that they would play into his hands again. It was however, not safe to keep him where he was as a lot of mischief was being brewed in his name. Hence every effort should be made to lure him into the Swarajist fold, and so make mischief impossible.

*Page 210, para. 419 (a), (b)—*

*Bombay City, S. B., March 15.*—On the morning of March 11, M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker and Mrs. Anusya alighted at Dadar Railway Station on his way to Andheri from Poona and motored to the Bungalow of Narottam Morarji at Juhu near Andheri where he intends to stay for a couple of months.

(b) *Bombay Suburban Area, March 15.*—Gandhi arrived at Juhu, Narottam Morarji's Bungalow on March 11 at about 7 a.m. He has with him two cooks, two servants, and C. F. Andrews is acting as his private secretary. He interviews people daily between 4 and 6 p.m. but only by appointment, the appointments being made by Andrews.

*Page 226-27, para. 452—*

*Sind, C.I. D. March 22.*—It is understood that Jairamdas Daulatram has sent Gandhi a telegram to the following effect:—That he feels that the specific mention of Sind in his advice to Hindus regarding processions before mosques will lead to a bitter newspaper controversy rendering the local atmosphere dangerous and will precipitate disputes. He earnestly requests its omission and will explain at greater length in writing.



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Jairamdas Daulatram Alimchandani on his return from Poona, where he had discussed the political situation with Gandhi, says that Gandhi is not prepared to commit himself to any particular policy until he has had an opportunity of meeting C. R. Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Gandhi is, however, still opposed to Council entry.

*Page 252, para. 515—*

*Bombay City, S. B., March 29.—*M. K. Gandhi has decided to resume the editorship of *Young India* and *Navjivan* from the next week and has appealed to the public to turn their love for him to better account by taking up spinning and khaddar propaganda instead of visiting him. The circulation of *Young India* fell away from 21,500 to only 3,000 after Gandhi's imprisonment. For the convenience of the readers of these papers, an arrangement has been made to open a branch office at Princess Street, Bombay opposite Ashoka Stores, where copies of these papers will be on sale.

*Page 259, para. 538—*

*Bombay Suburban Area, April 5.—*On 1st, 2nd and 3rd Lala Lajpatrai, Motilal Nehru and N. C. Kelkar interviewed Gandhi at Juhu. It is said that the subject of discussion was Hindu-Muslim unity.

*Page, 280, para. 580-A—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, April 23.—*The following appeared in *Young India* of April 17, 1924.—

*"Talks with Leaders."*

Statements have appeared in the Press about the talks between the Swarajist leaders and myself. I ask the readers to discount them as altogether premature. No final conclusions have been reached, Mr. C. R. Das has not even been able to attend these talks and as he has been asked by his medical advisers to take prolonged rest, he may not be able to come at all. In no case is it possible to make any statement before the views of Mr. Das and other friends are known.

I understand that the workers are vegetating because of the suspense caused by the talks and the confusion caused by unauthorised journalistic ventures. I would ask the workers not to worry over the result of the talk. I can give them my assurance

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that there is not the slightest likelihood of any change being advocated by me in the constructive programme. Anyone therefore suspending his activity in that direction will make a grievous blunder and retard the progress of the constructive work which needs all the time of all the workers that can be got together for the work."

*Page 310, para. 642-A—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 9.*—Regarding conversations at Juhu between Gandhi and the Swarajists, information is received that it is decided that the *status quo* should be maintained by both wings of the Congress until fresh developments take place in England. In short, there is to be no change in the attitude of the two Parties until Lala Lajpatrai returns to India and there is a fresh election. Any change before that would be uncalled for and unproductive.

*Page 353, para. 747—*

(1) *Bombay City, S. B., May 20.*—C. R. Das arrived in Bombay by the Calcutta Mail on May 15 and proceeded straight to Juhu in the Bombay Suburban District. A great deal of interest has been taken in Bombay in the progress of the conversations between him and M. K. Gandhi. It is understood that on May 17 Pandit Motilal Nehru and T. A. K. Sherwani (latter representing Khilafat interests) were present with the two leaders.

The two chief topics on this day were " Ahimsa " and " Hindu-Muslim unity. " The chief point at issue was whether the swaraj party tactics offended against the doctrine of " Ahimsa."

On May 18, it is understood that Dr. Munje, the C. P. obstructor, and M. R. Jayakar, Swaraj Party leader in the Bombay Legislative Council, were present at the discussions between Das, Nehru and Gandhi. The last remained unshaken in his conviction of the continued necessity of the triple boycott (Councils, Courts, and College's) and of the constructive programme ; but he advised the Swarajists that having entered the Councils they had better cooperate, accept ministerships, and carry on the Government instead of merely obstructing. The Swarajists definitely refused to take this advice and Dr. Munje went so far as to say that even if the other Swarajists deserted him he was resolved to break the C. P. Council.

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So far as can be gathered the final conclusion arrived at by the Swarajists in view of M. K. Gandhi's criticism and advice is to co-operate in the Councils in certain ways but on no account to accept ministerships. Thus they will accept appointments on all committees, will move resolutions tending to assist the constructive programme of the Congress, and will move bills in the Assembly and in the provincial Councils. Gandhi on his part, it is believed, will watch events until the next Congress at Belgaum at the end of the year.

(2) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 28.*—The *Mahratta* of May 25 has a leader devoted to the recent discussions between Gandhi and the Swaraj Party, on the question of Council entry. The paper regards the final questions between the parties as satisfactory :—" The Swaraj Party leaders, true to their faith in actual practical work, have boldly put an end to the slavery of words which held the country in subjection so long. The spell is at last broken. If the battle of freedom cannot be adequately fought by the rigours of loyalty to a formula of words or even spiritual dogmas, it is better to bid good-bye to them than to be stagnant or to go retrograde on downward incline."

*Page 372, para. 789-A—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona June 5.*—*Young India* on May 29 contains a long article by Gandhi on Hindu-Muslim tension. The impression one gathers from the article is that the Mahatma has fallen between two stools. The Hindus, he says, attack him for supporting the Mahommedans and encouraging them to commit outrages and oppression on the Hindus in Malabar, Multan and other places. The Mahommedans attack him for having wrecked their educational system and for having led them into a *cul-de-sac* over the Khilafat questions.

The Mahatma pleads not guilty to both charges and adds that he is " totally unrepentant". " Had I been a prophet and foreseen all that has happened I should have still thrown myself into the Khilafat agitation." The cause of the differences, he says, is that the Mahommedan is a bully and the Hindu a coward. Neither of these types of persons can be truly non-violent. He concludes by asking the two communities not to insist upon their respective claims for consideration but to trust one another.

*Page 379, para. 806—*

*Ahmedabad, May 31.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived here on the morning of May 29. About 25 people went to the Station to meet the 6 a.m. train ; but he was not in it. They waited on until the mail arrived and their numbers swelled to about 50. When the mail came in they learnt that he had got down at Kankaria Station and had gone direct to the Ashram. This device was kept very secret. Vallabhbai J. Patel and Dr. Kanuga managed this. On arrival at the Ashram the people there received him with prayers and songs on the road, and he was given flowers and yarn. He was said to be looking very frail and had to walk with the aid of a stick.

*Page 392, para. 840—*

*Ahmedabad, June 7.*—On the day M. K. Gandhi arrived here he attended prayers in the Ashram. At that time he said he would stay at the Ashram until the end of July. On Mondays and Wednesdays he would not speak until he had finished his *Young India* articles. On other days he would not speak before 2 p.m. He will go to Bombay in August. By then he hopes to be quite well and will start an All-India tour for Hindu-Muslim unity and could not say when he would be back at the Ashram.

*Page 401, para. 863—*

*S. B., (Bombay Presidency, Poona, June 14.*—Alluding to the decline in the sale of the *Young India* and *Navjivan* newspapers, M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Young India* of May 15:—

"My editing, though it has somewhat increased the number of subscribers, has not made any material increase. The papers are by no means as popular as they were before, perhaps because of the subsidence of excitement. *Young India* and Hindi *Navjivan* have not yet begun to pay their way and unless English readers of *Young India* and Hindi readers of Hindi *Navjivan* interest themselves in the upkeep of these weeklies and secure more subscribers, the question of stopping them may soon arise .....

*Page 409, para. 877 (4)—*

*Kaira, June 14.*—The District Magistrate writes:—"The return of Gandhi to Ahmedabad is stimulation to the local Congress people to a mild degree of activity. Abbas Tyabji and others have been endeavouring to enlist Congress members and to raise subscriptions for the Gandhi Purse in Nadiad Taluka and at Kapadwanj: but the response so far has not been great."

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Page 410, para. 879—

*The National College, Ahmedabad, reopened on June 10.*— M. K. Gandhi delivered an inaugural address at the Ashram at 8 a.m. About 400 persons (students and others) attended. Proceedings were opened with bhajans, after which the Principal, J. B. Kirpalani remarked that they were fortunate to have Gandhi with them. A reference was made to the late Principal now doing nothing at Nabha. The speaker said that he (the speaker) had been in Government Service but resigned as he could not freely speak. These Services are for slaves, but the national school gives freedom.

M. K. Gandhi said he had nothing new to tell them. He repeated his usual remarks. He had received three letters lately. In one he was advised to burn the Vidyapith ; the other two alleged that the students did no real work, but simply enjoyed themselves. He never repented starting it; it (the College) was a test of their self-confidence. There is no way to show this except by carrying on the three boycotts. His ideal was that the land on which he moved must be free.

Page 437, para. 954-A—

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 11.*—The All-India Congress Committee Meeting at Ahmedabad.

The most important event of the week was the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad on June 27, 28 and 29. About 160 delegates attended.

The Working Committee met on the afternoon of June 26. After dealing with the question of the Maharashtra election (in favour of the orthodox party members who, it was alleged, had been illegally elected) the Committee considered Gandhi's four resolutions and came to the conclusion that the resolutions were in order and should be put to the full meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. This met on the evening of June 27 under the presidency of Mahomed Ali. Gandhi arrived at about 7 p.m. and was met with a great reception. Gandhi then arose and put his first resolution which ran as follows :—

*No. 1.*—In view of the fact that the members of the Congress organisation throughout the country have themselves hitherto neglected handspinning, in spite of the fact that the spinning-wheel and its product handspun khaddar have been regarded as indispensable for the establishment of *Swaraj* and although their acceptance has been regarded by the Congress as a necessary preliminary to

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Civil Disobedience, the All-India Congress Committee resolved that all the members of the various representative Congress organisations shall, except when disabled by sickness or prevented by continuous travelling, regularly spin for at least half an hour every day and shall send to the Secretary of the All-India Khaddar Board at least ten tolas each of even and well-twisted yarn of a count not below ten so as to reach him not later than the 15th day of each month, the first consignment to reach the Secretary not later than the 15th day of August 1924 and thereafter in regular monthly succession. Any member failing to send the prescribed quantity by the prescribed date shall be deemed to have vacated his office and such vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner; provided that the member vacating in the manner aforesaid shall not be eligible for re-election before the next general election for the members of the several organisation.

No. 2.—Inasmuch as complaints have been received that provincial secretaries and other members of Congress organisation do not carry out the instructions issued to them from time to time by officers duly authorised thereto, the All-India Congress Committee hereby resolves that those in-charge of matters referred to them failing to comply with the instructions of officers thereto appointed shall be deemed to have vacated their offices and the vacancy shall be filled in the usual manner: Provided that the member thus vacating shall not be eligible for re-election till the next general elections.

No. 3.—In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee it is desirable that the Congress electors elect to various offices in the Congress organisations, only those who in their persons carry out to the full the Congress creed and the various non-co-operation resolutions of the Congress including the five boycotts, namely, of all mill-spun cloth, Government law courts, schools, titles and legislatures bodies, and the All-India Congress Committee hereby resolves that the members who do not believe in and do not in their own persons carry out the said boycotts shall vacate their seats and that there should be fresh elections in respect of such seats: Provided that if the members vacating so choose they may offer themselves for re-election.

No. 4.—The All-India Congress Committee regrets the murder of the late Mr. Day by the late Gopinath Saha and offers its condolences to the deceased's family and though deeply sensible of the love, however misguided, of the country promoting the murder, the All-India Congress Committee strongly condemns this and all such political murders and is emphatically of opinion that all such acts are inconsistent with the Congress creed

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and its resolution of non-violent non-co-operation and is of opinion that such acts retard the progress towards *Swaraj*, and interfere with the preparations for Civil Disobedience which in the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee is capable of evoking the purest sacrifice but which can only be offered in a perfectly peaceful atmosphere. Pandit Motilal Nehru then rose at once to point of order. He argued that these resolutions were *ultra vires*. In this he was supported by C. R. Das and others of the Swaraj Party. His arguments were that the members of the All-India Congress Committee were elected and not nominated and absolute powers rested with electors to elect whom they chose, and no restriction could be put up on their right without changing the constitution of the Congress. After a great deal of discussion a poll was taken, the result of which was 68 for Motilal and 82 for Gandhi, 10 members remaining neutral. Gandhi's resolutions were thus held constitutional and within the competence of the All-India Congress Committee to discuss. The house then adjourned.

Before the opening of the formal meeting of the All-India Congress Committee on June 28, an informal conference at the presidential dais took place between M. K. Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das.

As soon as the meeting properly commenced, Gandhi's first resolution was taken up. Proposals were made that the consideration of the resolution should be postponed till the next sessions at Belgaum. These proposals were negatived. Gandhi then spoke in support of his resolution. He said he hoped that those who conscientiously differed from him would not support his resolution out of affection towards him, a mistaken feeling of loyalty. He was putting this resolution because he wanted to know where he stood. If he found that it gave rise to nothing but bitterness and that his party had supported the resolution simply through personal loyalty to himself, he would sever his connection with the Congress. Vallabhbhai Patel supported Gandhi.

Pandit Motilal Nehru then rose and strongly opposed the motion. He said that during the informal conference which had preceded the meeting, he and C.R. Das had offered Gandhi absolute dictatorship but, however loyal to Gandhi they might be, they could not agree to his attack on the constitution of the Congress. They were willing to give him complete control but they were not willing to surrender their rights. At the close of the speech Pandit Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, Shrinivas Aiyengar and the Swaraj Party in general, to the number of about 55, left the Hall.



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Gandhi's resolution was then put to the vote and carried by 85 to 25. Gandhi then got up and said that the House must consider the votes of the absent Swarajists. If they did that they would see that his resolution would not have been passed in this present form. After considerable discussion it was decided to remove the penal clauses from the resolution and the House then adjourned till the next day. The resolution as amended ran as follows:—

" In view of the fact that certain members whilst proceedings of the Committee were going on deemed it necessary to withdraw from the Committee by reason of their resentment of the penalty clause in the obligatory spinning resolution and in view of the fact that the penalty clause was carried by only 67 against 37 votes, and further in view of the fact that the said penalty clause would have been defeated if the votes of the withdrawals had been given against it. this Committee considers it advisable to remove the penalty clause and to reaffirm the said resolution without such clause."

The Swarajists had intended to leave Ahmedabad that night but that evening they heard that the penalty clause had been deleted by Gandhi from his resolution No. 1. So Nehru, Das and Aiyengar went to see the Mahatma at Sabarmati. They had a long talk with him and Gandhi, who by this time had realised that the Swarajists were stronger than he thought and that the period of his dictatorship was over, agreed similarly to alter his other resolution. The reason he gave for his change of attitude was that he was not aware of the full purport of the Coconada compromise which permitted Swarajist Congressmen to go to the Councils and yet did not enforce their resignation from the Congress executives. As Gandhi is supposed to have been studying the question for the last three months his excuse deceived no one. All realised that it was merely a question of saving face.

When the Congress Committee reassembled on the morning of June 29, all therefore went merry as a marriage-bell. The hall was full of compliments. Gandhi's resolutions Nos. 2 and 3 were then put to the meeting and passed unanimously. These resolutions now ran as follows :—

2. "Inasmuch as it has been brought to the notice of the All-India Congress Committee that instructions issued from time to time to officers and organisation duly authorised thereto have sometimes not been carried properly it is resolved that the Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committees shall have power to take such disciplinary action including dismissal



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as may be deemed advisable and in cases where the default is by the provincial authorities, the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to take such disciplinary action including dismissal as may be deemed advisable by the respective committees of the Provincial Committees."

3. " The All-India Congress Committee draws the attention of the Congress voters to the fact that the five boycotts, namely, of all mill-spun cloth, Government law courts, educational institutions, titles and Legislative bodies, except in so far as they may have been affected by the Coconada resolution, are still part of the Congress programme and therefore considers it desirable that those Congress voters who believe in the Congress programme do not elect to the various Congress organisations, those who do not believe in carrying out in their person the said five boycotts except where affected by the said Coconada resolution and the All-India Congress Committee therefore requests such persons who are now members, of the Congress elective organisations to resign their places."

At the opening sessions of the Committee, Gandhi put his resolution No. 4 (condemning Gopinath Saha, the assassin of Mr. Day). Das then moved an amendment which was an exact counterpart of his Serajgunj Conference resolution. He made a stirring speech in its support and did his best to show that he and the Bengal Provincial Conference had been hostile to any form of violence. He said that threats under Regulation 3 of 1818 had been made against him and he asked the House to accept his amendment if only as an answer to that threat.

N. S. Paranjpe seconded Das's amendment and in his speech told Gandhi that he (Gandhi) pushed his love of non-violence too far.

After a hot discussion Das was defeated by 73 to 67. Finally the original resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Several " No-changer" and Non-violence men voted in favour of Das's amendment. Gandhi was much grieved by the desertion of non-co-operation principles and completely broke down. The meeting was much affected, the majority of these present being in tears. All the leaders present stood up and swore loyalty once again to the Mahatma.

A resolution was passed congratulating the Akalis in their nonviolent struggle.

Gangadharrao Deshpande of Belgaum resigned his office of Secretary to the All-India, Congress Committee in view of the resolution passed the previous day. Gangadharrao is at present engaged in a civil suit in the Small Causes Court, Belgaum,

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Further proceedings of the Committee are devoid of interest. They came to an end the same evening. From the proceedings it is apparent that neither party can stand by self. Gandhi is said to be bitterly disappointed at the number of his so-called supporters who still entertain ideas of violence and he realised, I think, that he will never again be able to reproduce the spirit that existed in India in 1920. On the other hand there is no doubt that Gandhi's prestige has suffered very severely not only on account of his defeat in the Congress by the Swarajists but also because of his weak-kneed abandonment of his original position when faced with hostility. He appeared at Ahmedabad as a politician and not as a Mahatma. The general tone of the meeting was in favour of violence. This was particularly apparent in the cases of delegates from Bengal and the Berars.

The press comments of course are coloured entirely by the views of the journals in which they appear. The *Chronicle* considers that the session has been a great triumph for Gandhi and that the compromise arrived at are honourable to all concerned and beneficial to the country.

The *Kesari* of July 1, says:—"The proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee testify to the complete discomfiture of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi has made up his mind to root out the Swaraj party from the Congress but he had to eat humble pie in the end. At the private gathering after the meeting Mr. Gandhi is reported to have begged his followers with tears in his eyes to be allowed to give up politics and to have been persuaded by Abul Kalam Azad and others to continue to be at his post. But since Mr. Gandhi has half his heart in the pure sphere of ethics we have our doubts as to whether he will continue to be in the field of Indian politics for a long time."

The *Dnyan Prakash* of July 2 considers that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee has conclusively proved that non-co-operation exists and will continue to exist in name only.

The *Lokamanya* of July 3 writes in much the same strain as the *Kesari*.

The *Hindustan*, on the other hand, in its issue of July 2 believes that the sensible co-operation of the two parties of the Congress will bring them closer during the ensuing months and that in spite of differences of opinion as long as the country has faith in the leadership of Mr. Gandhi its future is hopeful.

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The *Chronicle* of July 3 contains an article by Gandhi, which is to be published in the forthcoming number of *Young India*. In it the Mahatma describes his surprise on finding his opponents in such strength: "The Gopinath Saha resolution clinched the issue. The speeches, the result and the scenes I witnessed after were a perfect eye-opener"....."After the declaration the chief actors retired from the scene and the House abandoned itself to levity. The most important resolutions were passed with the greatest unconcern.....Everybody rose on points of order and information. The ordeal was enough to try the patience of any chairman. Maulana Mahomed' Ali came through it all unscathed. He kept his temper fairly"....."All the same, dignity vanished after the Gopinath resolution. As the proceedings went on I must have become more and more serious. Often I felt like running away from the oppressive scene."

Gandhi goes on to describe the discussion that led up to the tender of resignation by Gangadharrao Deshpande and his (Gandhi's) attempt to modify the boycott resolution in favour of Gangadharrao was defeated. Gandhi then goes on to relate how defeat and disillusionment broke down his self-control and also that of most of the others present: "I have nothing to forgive, for none had done any wrong to me. On the contrary they had all been personally kind to me. I was sad because we were weighed in the scales of our own-making the Congress creed and found wanting. We were such poor representatives of the Nation. I seemed to be hopelessly out of place. My grief consisted in the doubt about my own ability to lead those who would not follow. I saw that I was utterly defeated and humbled, but defeat cannot dishearten me. It can only chasten me. My faith in my creed stands immovable. I know that God will guide me. " Truth is superior to man's wisdom. "

S. B., *Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 11.*—Writing on June 28 the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, remarks as under on the above subject: —"The All-India Congress Committee is now sitting. There is no excitement in the town but a good many people have put on khadi for the occasion. This evening at 6 p.m. the President and the Councillors of the Ahmedabad Municipality are giving a friendly party to the members of the All-India Congress Committee to which I was invited by Vallabhbai. I am not attending it ! The expenses are not being charged to the Municipality."

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The Commissioner, Northern Division, remarks:—"I understand that Gandhi's view are likely to prevail here but the resolutions, shorn of the penal clauses, will not be accepted as binding by the malcontents. They will be *bruta fulmina* and will remain in abeyance until the real trial of strength at Belgaum."

*Page 464, para. 1010—*

*Ahmedabad, July 12.*—The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee met in the Social Reform Hall (Bhadra), July 11, afternoon. M. K. Gandhi attended and appeared to be quite well. The stories of his serious illness seem to have been exaggerated. Three names were put forward for the presidentship of the next Congress at Belgaum, viz., Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Ansari and M. K. Gandhi. The last named suggested his name being proposed last as he was from Gujarat. Members have been given time to think over the names.

M. K. Gandhi then moved the spinning resolution on the lines of that passed at the All-India Congress Committee. The members asked for time to think over the matter, which was given, and the meeting adjourned until next day.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel occupied the chair. Gandhi remarked in the course of his speech that his faith in the constructive programme was not lessened by one *iota*. Gujarat now was his one and only hope, and if Gujarat betrayed him, he was not sure whether they would be able to get Swaraj by non-violent means.

The meeting reassembled on July 12 at 8-15 a.m. Gandhi did not attend. The resolution regarding spinning was passed with a proviso that 5,000 yards rather than 2,000 yards should be sent monthly; but taking into consideration the difficulties of beginners, they put it for the present at 3,000 yards. They also added the penalty clause left out in the All-India Congress Committee meeting.

A resolution of the Khaddar Branch to stop the import of khaddar from outside Gujarat, to give an impetus to production within, and to establish one Khaddar Bhandar in every district was passed.

As regards Dholka Customs line, it was decided to take no step at present as Gandhi was carrying on negotiations in the matter with Government (?).

The meeting dispersed and another will be held in the last week of August.

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*Page 468, para. 1022—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 21.—**Young India* of July 17 contains the following paragraph written by Gandhi apparently without any idea of double entente:—"Sarojini the Singer".....For, though I believe that I can contribute my humble share in the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity in many respects she can do much better. She intimately knows more Musalmans than I do. She has access to their hearts which I cannot pretend to. Add to these qualifications her sex which is her strongest qualification in which no man can approach her."

*Page 476, para. 1045—*

*Bombay City S. B., July 21.—*It appears that M. K. Gandhi is in very poor health. He has lost seven or eight pounds in weight. He has postponed his projected tour and is not likely to be able to come to Bombay to receive the Municipal address until the last week in August.

*Page 509, para. 1121—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, August 13.—*The Gujarat National School Teacher's Conference was held in Ahmedabad on August 1 and 2, Gandhi being in the chair. About 2,000 persons were present. Gandhi in his opening speech said that he regretted he had not had time to think over the question of national education(!). He admitted that there was depression in India and that he was the cause of it, but to those who had faith *Swaraj* was as close as it had been in 1921. In spite of depression great work has been done by India, "Gujarat has got 10,000 students in national institutions, not including the students in municipal schools. There are 500 girls in national schools. The Municipalities of Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Surat have supported the non-co-operation movement in their educational policy and thereby we have got 20,000 students in all in Gujarat. There are 800 teachers in all in our Gujarat. They are regularly paid. We have got two National Colleges and one Research Institute." He praised the work done by Swami Akhandanand in providing cheap literature. But he said that he would like to see books even cheaper so that it would be within the reach of villagers." Many say that Swami Akhandanand has saved and misappropriated about Rs. 50,000, but I assure you that none of that type can live with me(!)". He then reiterated the non-cooperation creed. "We must stick to the words peaceful and legitimate. We must also believe in the fivefold boycotts. If we do not believe in those things, we must leave the schools (National Schools). We cannot join these institutions simply for earning our bread." "The National College has endangered its existence by

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allowing untouchables to enter it. It is a disgrace to us that we cannot accommodate them in our schools. I do not care if the teachers resign or the students are withdrawn from the national schools. If people do not like our work we may not get money from them, but I would like to have one genuine coin instead of having one crore of counterfeit coins."

He then closed his speech by appealing for the spread of education amongst the villagers.

Upon reassembling for the afternoon's session, Gandhi said that as some of the teachers wanted to discuss resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4 at length, they would commence the afternoon's work with Resolution No. 5.

Resolution No. 5 (as amended and carried). A curriculum for training of teachers should be fixed. Every national school should appoint an educational committee, and that the educational Committee should discuss the teachers curriculum twice a month.

Resolution No. 6 was to the effect that the National University should give preference to primary education as compared to the higher and middle-class education and should do its best to spread the former in the villages.

Resolution No. 7 was almost identical with resolution No. 6.

On the following day the remaining resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4 were discussed.

Resolution No. 1 was to the effect that as national schools were a part of the campaign for obtaining *Swaraj* and that as *Swaraj* could only be obtained through adherence to the principles of non-co-operation, therefore all national education should be run on non-co-operation principles. This resolution gave rise to a good deal of discussion as it was pointed out that were it carried every teacher would have to spend his time spinning, would have to admit untouchables to his schools and would have to do several other things that might turn his school from a paying proposition into a failure. In fact Resolution No. 1, was very much like Gandhi's resolution at the recent All-India Congress Committee meeting at Ahmedabad a test imposed by Gandhi to find out where he stood. On this occasion he was successful and the resolution was carried by a majority.

After that all went smoothly.

Resolution No. 2 was to the effect that quality rather than quantity should be aimed at in national schools and that admission should only be given to children whose parents would not object to the admission of untouchables and to Hindu-Muslim unity.

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Resolution No. 3 was practically a shadow of Resolution No. 1.

Resolution No. 4 was to the effect that every teacher should learn carding and spinning.

Resolution No. 9 was to the effect that teachers should compel the students to spin at least half an hour every day.

After concluding speeches of no importance, conference came to an end.

*Ibid, August 2.*—The District Magistrate writes:—"The report of the meetings show that there was little unanimity and that untouchability is the chief obstacle. Gandhi gave no encouragement to those who were against admission of untouchables. He told the teachers that it would not matter if the schools committees dismissed them over this question " as they could always get work in other ways, such as digging, breaking metal, cleaning latrines, etc.!"

Gandhi's influence is now so weak that he was opposed on almost every point.

*Page 531, para. 1177(2).*

*Ahmedabad, August 16*—M. K. Gandhi left for Delhi on the morning of August 16 by Chota Mail (Metre Gauge Mail).

*Page 534, para. 1186—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, August 25.*—In connection with the efforts that are being made by M. K. Gandhi to win over the Swarajists, through Mrs, Sarojini Naidu, N. C. Kelkar has said that no compromise is possible with his party until their programme is openly recognised as part of the Congress Programme.

*Page 553, para. 1236 (1)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 1.*—An address was presented to M. K. Gandhi; by the Ahmedabad Municipality on August 26. Between 2,000-3,000 persons were present including Seth Ambalal Sarabai, Sir Girjaprasad Chinubhai Baronet, and Seth Mangaldas Girdhar. Vallabhbhai J. Patel read the address. There was nothing particularly of note in it. "You have placed before us all ideal of a true citizen by serving the British Empire for nearly 30 years with single-minded devotion and self-respect, and when that Empire proved disloyal to its citizens you have shown to the world what ought to be the duty of a self-respecting nation, by starting the mighty and holy movement of non-co-operation thereby adding one more matchless and pure weapon to the world politics."



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Gandhi made his reply seated, not being strong enough to stand. He enlarged upon the necessities for improving the present Municipal administration of Ahmedabad, and said that at one time he had been very much tempted to join the Municipality but politics had intervened. He suggested that the present members should work for improvement in opening healthy suburbs, relieving congestion, and in instituting a good and cheap supply of milk and better conservancy.

*Page 557, para. 1246—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 1.*—About 5,000 labourers assembled in the river-bed outside Shahpur Gate, Ahmedabad City, on August 23 to present a purse of Rs. 3,000 to M. K. Gandhi. The Secretary of the Union, Gulzarilal Nanda in addressing Gandhi described the help that the Mahatma had so often given to the labourers of Ahmedabad.

Gandhi asked the labourers if they had any complaints to make to him, and various questions regarding the internal economy of the Union were brought up. Gandhi urged them to be self-reliant and to control their own institutions. They were the masters of the Union. They should appoint such officials as would serve their ends honestly, be they Hindus or Mahommedans. He also urged them to use khaddar.

*Page 565, para. 1260 (8)—*

*Bombay City, S. B., August 30.*—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by his son Devadas and his Secretary, arrived in Bombay at the Grant Road Railway Station on the morning of August 29. Very heavy rain was falling at the time and there were only about 50 persons headed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and J. G. Nensey, the Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, to meet him. From the station the guests motored to Laburnum Road to the bungalow of Rewashankar Jagjiwan, a Gujarati jeweller, with whom Gandhi is staying while in Bombay.

The same evening the Corporation Address to M. K. Gandhi was presented at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall. The hall accommodates 1,200 people and was crowded to the fullest extent in spite of the weather being wet. About 2,000 people had to wait outside. After the reading of the Corporation Address Gandhi made a short speech, first in Gujarati and then in English, saying that he recognised no distinction between religion and politics and that politics without religion was dangerous. The proceedings lasted only half an hour, both the address and the reply being brief.

Next day (August 30) Gandhi visited the national school at Princess Street and spoke on khaddar and the spinning-wheel. From there he went at 4 p.m. to a ladies' meeting in the Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall under the Rashtriya Stree Sabha auspices,



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Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presiding. About 500 ladies attended. On this occasion two purses were handed over to Gandhi—one amounting to Rs. 1,000 from the Bhuleshwar District Congress Committee and the other amounting to Rs. 4,536-9-0 from the Rashtriya Stree Sabha. A collection was taken for the sufferers from the Malabar floods and about Rs. 500 were taken.

*Page 568, para. 1270—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 10.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Poona on the morning of September 4, having alighted from the train at Chinchwad, Haveli Taluka, visited the Pathshala there and finished his journey by motor. At 8-30 a.m., he unveiled the bust of the late Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in the Reay Market. The bust had been prepared under the supervision of the Chief of Aundh. Although the affair was a Municipal one, the funds were collected by subscription and no expenditure to the municipality in this connection took place. The audience was a large one and amongst those present were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, S. M. Paranjpe, C. V. Vaidya, L. B. Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale, B. S. Kamat, K. R. Kanitkar and W. V. Dastane. S. G. Lavate, Vice-President of the Municipality read his opening speech in which there was nothing of note. Gandhi then unveiled the bust with some eulogistic remarks regarding Chiplunkar and Maharashtra. In the course of his speech, however, he reproached Maharashtra for its want of faith. This reproach is faithfully dealt with in the *Maharatta* of September 7: " If he intends by faith, some kind of political faith we are proud that Maharashtra has as good as a feast. If, on the other hand, by faith he means faith in his special programme, Maharashtra will have none of it so long as it continues to be what it is. " The audience was by no means as enthusiastic as it had been on the occasion of the unveiling of the Tilak statue. It was noticed that S. M. Paranjpe who formerly had been Gandhi's chief protagonist in Poona, instead of being near the Mahatma, was standing at a considerable distance away and refused to join the elite when asked to do so. Presumably S. M. Paranjpe thinks that Gandhi has let him down by temporising with the Swarajist enemy.

Gandhi visited the "Servants of India Society's" Home during the course of the morning and later on had a private conversation with some members of the Swaraj Party in Gaikwad Wada.

In the afternoon he visited the Seva Sadan, spoke at a ladies' meeting received pan-supari from the non-Brahmins at Jedhe Mansion (exhorting them not to show hatred in their search for truth) and also received pan-supari from the untouchables in the Ahilyashram.

At 5-30 p.m. he attended the Convocation ceremony of the Tilak Maha Vidyalaya. C. V. Vaidya, Chancellor of the Institution, presided. D. R. Gharpure, Registrar, read out the annual report and message from Dr. Kurtakoti to the successful students. Dr. Kurtakoti is the kul-guru of the Vidyalaya.

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Gandhi then addressed the students. He said he was embarrassed, being an uneducated man in the presence of much learning. He said that the chief aim of such institutions should be to fit their students to struggle for *Swaraj*. He related how, when he was in England two days after the outbreak of the Great War, he saw all the inns of courts, schools and colleges emptied of their students who had all gone to join the forces in some capacity or other. He said that the national educational institutions in some ways could not yet be compared with Government ones. But after all their aim was character rather than education. He urged hand-spinning. He advised the students to use their own vernacular in preference to English. He appealed to the students to make the institution a living and prosperous one.

At about 9-30 p.m. M. K. Gandhi spoke to a large meeting of about 10,000 persons in the Reay Market. Amongst those present were G. B. Deshpande of Belgaum, Ramkrishnadas Buwa of Sangamner and all the "no-change" and "pro-change" leaders. S. M. Paranjpe presided. Gandhi's speech was not one calculated to ingratiate him with his audience. He began by asking those present why they had not obtained *Swaraj* and by demanding of them an account of the work they had done during the last two years. *Swaraj* could not be obtained by holding big meetings. What about conditions laid down and accepted by them at Calcutta Nagpur and Ahmedabad. One of the conditions was that meetings should be conducted peacefully. (This was an allusion to the perpetual uproar that was going on while the meeting was in progress). Tilak's message "*Swaraj* is my" birthright" was incomplete. Lokamanya had omitted to add, "the way to achieve it is by khaddar." He then went on to describe all the beauties of this product and reproached the citizens of Poona for their slackness in this respect. "There was a small shop of khadi in Poona ; I hear that it had to be closed or was about to be closed. Could you not purchase a few thousand rupees worth of khadi ? Have you performed your duty ? "

Turning to the Congress men, he said that all their efforts, their deputations to England, their propaganda in America and their demand for *Swaraj* were useless unless they used khaddar. He reiterated his statement that Maharashtra in spite of its capabilities had no faith. He then passed on to discuss untouchability and Hindu-Muslim unity in his usual style. As long as Hindus and Mahomedans were busy breaking one another's heads so long would they have a foreign Government ruling over them. He said that he did not want to fight with Motilal Nehru or N. C. Kelkar. If they wished him to remain in the Congress he would remain if they wished him to leave it he would leave it. "I committed a great mistake at the last All-India Congress Committee meeting at Ahmedabad in hoping to be able to do some work by securing a majority of votes to my side."

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The proceedings terminated after Gandhi had been garlanded and he left at once for Bombay.

A tand before the meeting certain leaflets apparently emanating from the Loksangraha Press were circulated. They were headed "Ask Mahatmaji the following questions." The questions were almost entirely concerned with Hindu-Muslim differences, with particular reference to the recent disturbances in Gulbarga. They were most of them questions which Gandhi might have found difficult to answer. The subject of untouchability was also mentioned and the fact that the Congress, in which non-Hindus are included, interferes in Hindu communal matters is criticised. Although the leaflets were freely circulated no one apparently had the nerve to put the suggested questions to Gandhi.

Gandhi visited S. M. Paranjpe at his house in the course of the morning and this may explain why S. M. Paranjpe after keeping in the background at the unveiling yet came forward to preside at the evening meeting.

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 11.*—It now appears that Gandhi was requested to visit Poona, to unveil the bust of the late Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, by Professor Gharpure of the Tilak Maha Vidyalaya with the previous sanction of N. C. Kelkar. Gandhi, however, accepted the invitation not so much for the honour intended, but because it gave him an opportunity to have private conversations with the Poona Swarajists who were not prepared to meet him on their own account. The substance of the talk he had with L. B. Bhopatkar and others in the Gaikwad wada on September 4 is that he admitted the correctness of what the Swarajists were doing in the Councils and expressed his approval of their methods ; but pointed out his extreme inability openly to support Council-entry after he had been so loud in trumpeting his five boycotts. In fact he importuned them not to force him to climb down to that extent. He has however, promised them that he will not oppose Council-entry at Belgaum, but will remain quiet on that question, and thus allow the Swarajists to get their resolution regarding Council entry passed by a majority. He will advise No-Changers who have no conscientious objection, to support the resolution in the Congress.

To the No-Changers, including S. M. Paranjpe, he said that they had practically done no work while they were advocating his constructive programme ; that the Swarajists, whom they opposed and derided, were doing some useful work—apart from the question whether that work was or was not going to benefit India in the near future—and that they should not oppose the Swarajists if the latter stand for election to the various Congress organisations in November next. He condemned the methods employed last year by the No-changers to secure the different Congress offices.

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*Page 577, para. 1294 (4)—*

*Surat, September 6.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Surat by the first Passenger at 1-50 p.m. on September 5. From 3 to 3-30 p.m. he gave audience to national school teachers, from 3-30 to 4-30 p.m. to city workers, 4-30 to 5-30 p.m. district workers, 5-30 to 6-30 p.m. to the general public. At 7 p.m. he addressed a largely attended public meeting, the audience numbering about 5,000. He delivered a lengthy speech in the course of which he expressed his disappointment at the decline in political activity, divisions in the Congress and factions among the Swarajists. He deplored Hindu-Muslim dissensions and riots, lack of enthusiasm on the question of untouchability and in popularising khaddar and spinning. Much of what he said was a repetition of his recent speeches delivered elsewhere.

*Page 577, para. 1294 (5)—*

*Bombay Suburban Area, September 6.*—On September 2, the Ville Parle Village Congress Committee held a meeting in the Ville Parle National School compound with the object of collecting money for the Malabar Relief Fund. It was attended by about 800 and Gandhi, accompanied by Vithalbai J. Patel, was also present. After some songs of welcome had been sung by the Andheri Gurukul School-boys, V. J. Patel introduced Gandhi to the audience and the hat was passed round, Rs. 600 being collected and 10 seers of yarn of about the same value. Gandhi then spoke a few words, saying *Swaraj* can only be obtained by spinning yarn and removing the ban of untouchability.

*Page 578, para. 1294 (12)—*

*Bombay City, S. B., September 5.*—A large public meeting was organised by the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha in the Excelsior Theatre, Bombay, on the morning of Sunday, August 31. The meeting had two objects, firstly to honour M. K. Gandhi, and secondly to raise money for Malabar Relief. Admission was by ticket, from the sale of which nearly Rs. 4,000 were realised. In addition, M. R. Jayakar contributed a thousand, and other contributions amounting to a thousand were received. The attendance was about 1,500. Messrs. Jayakar, Vimadalal, Pickthall, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and B. F. Bharucha, also Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and others spoke in praise of Mr. Gandhi. The audience signified their displeasure at Jamnadas Dwarkadas referring to the guest of honour as "Gandhiji" instead of as "Mahatma" ; and when it came to his turn to speak Gandhi' vigorously upbraided the audience for their conduct. He went on to say that he objected to intolerance of every sort and that he could not bring himself to hate even Dyer or O'Dwyer although he did

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not like things they had done. As regards Malbar relief they could have every reliance that the money would be well spent by G. K. Devdhar who was administering relief funds. After speaking for about 40 minutes in Gujarati he spoke for five minutes in English and said he had a terrible side to his nature, which had estranged his friends, his dear wife, his own son and his own brother. He also had a side to his nature which was compounded of nothing but affection. There was no ill-will and no hatred in it. If he had offended the Englishmen, with whom he had worked in South Africa, it was because he loved them as much as he loved his own people ; but they had had to feel the terrible side of his nature, just as his own people had had to. Alluding to the controversy between him and the Swarajists he said it was his fixed resolve that neither in Belgaum nor here would there be any effect on his part to divide the country; if there was any question of dividing the country he would be the under-dog and be no party to it.

The same afternoon at 3 p.m. Gandhi met the members of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at their office when most of the members were present. The Secretary read out the names of those members who had sent in the right amount of yarn. Questions were invited and Dr. Savarkar and J. B. Patel questioned his strictness in regard to the spinning requisition. Gandhi said he could solve all their difficulties with a single answer. If they were members of an institution, they were bound to carry out that institution's rules and regulations. If they could not do so, they stood self-condemned. In short, his advice to them was to carry out the spinning resolution.

At 4 p.m. Gandhi presided over a prize distribution at Muzaffarabad Hall of the Girls' National School. About 150 scholars and 150 parents and guardians were present. Mrs. Naidu gave away the prizes. Miss Tulaskar the principal, described their difficulties which had resulted in the school members falling off from 370 to 150. Gandhi expressed his satisfaction at seeing four *Chamar* boys who were being educated in the school. He appealed to the people not to be scared away but to show their faith in the removal of untouchability by continuing to send their children to the school.

On Tuesday, 2nd September, Gandhi visited the Khadi Bhandar at Princess Street. In the evening he paid a brief visit to the National Medical College where he appealed for khaddar and for contributions to the institution.

At 9 p.m. the same evening he attended a meeting organized in his honour by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and held in the godown of Ramchandra Ramvallabh in Dana Bunder.

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Mrs. Naidu presided and the attendance was about 5,000. Mrs. Naidu said it was not necessary for a lot of people to speak that evening. She would ask the audience to hear Mahatma Gandhi whom they were anxious to see and listen to. Gandhi said he had no message for them other than the message of 1920-21. The Congress was divided and the people were downhearted. Their differences were unfortunate as they had a common object. Rather than have a continuance of the quarrel he would admit his defeat. He had written in this sense to Pandit Motilal Nehru and hoped for a perfect unity at the next Congress. He expected the people to use khaddar, to ply the charkha, and to observe the Hindu-Muslim unity. He also wanted them to do away with untouchability. If people were unable to do any of these things, he would have no alternative but to return to his Ashram and do penance.

Gandhi left Bombay by the night train on September 3 for Poona and arrived back at Dadar on the morning of September 5 where he visited the Ganpati Mandap and addressed an audience of 500. He said he gathered that the public were not in a determined mood to carry out his programme although they were anxious for *Swaraj*. He did not mind others entering Councils or sending their children to any schools they fancied ; but he did expect everybody to carry out his tripartite programme of khaddar, Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability. He asked for a show of hands of those who acted up to the programme on these points. A very small number of hands were raised. He said he was sorry to see them in that state and asked them to take his advice to heart. After receiving a purse of Rs. 51, some yarn and clothes for Malabar relief he left for Surat by the 7-45 a.m. train.

*Page 581, para. 1299—*

(1) *Sind C. I. D., September 6.*—M. K. Gandhi is reported to have written to C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru, agreeing to call off the boycotts provided each Congress member spins 2,000 yards of yarn every month.

The Sukkur District Congress Committee has decided to present Gandhi with 5 lakh yards of hand-spun yarn on his forthcoming visit to Sukkur.

(2) *Kaira, September 6.*—A leaflet issued by Secretary of the Satyagraha Samiti, Borsad, states that it has been decided to increase the number of spinners in the Borsad Taluka from 150 to 275.



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*Page 581, para. 1302—*

(1) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 16.*—Later information is that if the Swarajists are able to capture the Congress by an honourable compromise with M. K. Gandhi, they are prepared to enter into conversations with him on the subject. But Pandit Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das will not have anything to do with Gandhi if Dr. Annie Besant is by his side while the question is being discussed. N. C. Kelkar argues that so long as they do not pay any heed to what she says, there should be no objection to her presence. But possibly Kelkar knows that this advice of his will be ignored and is merely giving it in order to obtain a reputation for fairness

In this connection information shows that the No-change leaders such as C. Rajagopalachari, Jamnalal Bajaj, Babu Rajendra Prasad, G. B. Deshpande, etc., are extremely annoyed with Gandhi's tendency to join hands with the Swarajists. But they have not the courage to say so openly to him and are therefore putting up an opposition in the proposal that Dr. Besant would be present at the proposed conference. The telegram in the *Chronicle*, dated September 13, 1924, that Dr. Besant intends to interview Pandit Motilal is of interest in this connection.

Satyamurti of Madras is however against any compromise with Gandhi in the name of the All-India Swaraj Party. He does not object if the compromise relates to any particular province.

On the whole it appears that if any compromise at all be effected at Delhi (where Gandhi has already gone), it will be a patched-up one and the final decision will be taken at Belgaum. But if the present attitude of the "Kattars" does not improve and if they persist in holding that the Swarajists must be turned out of the Congress, and that all the Congress organisation should remain in "Kattar" hands alone, then the position of Gandhi at Belgaum will be an awkward one. It will be that of a man who is rejected by an enemy, to join whom he has deserted his friends.

(2) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 17.*—In an article headed "The Realities" in *Young India* of September 11 (also quoted in *Bombay Chronicle* of September 13) M. K. Gandhi announces a change in his policy, briefly his proposals are these: —

(1) The suspension of all boycotts except that of foreign cloth until 1925.

(2) Subject to (1), the removal of the boycott of Empire Goods,

(3) The confinement of Congress activities solely to hand-spinning, Hindu-Muslim unity, and the removal of untouchability.

(4) The maintenance of the existing national educational institutions, and if possible their expansion.

(5) The removal of the four-anna franchise for Congress membership and the substitution as qualification for membership

of spinning for half an hour per day and delivery to the Congress from month to month of 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn.

The implications of these proposals are :—

(1) That the Swarajists should be free to organise themselves without any opposition from the Congress or "No-changers".

(2) That members of other political bodies should be induced to join the Congress.

(3) That the "No-change" party will not carry on any propaganda direct or indirect against Council-entry.

(4) That those who do not personally believe in any of the four boycotts will be free to act as if they did not exist.

"The Congress.....was intended to be the most democratic in the world, and if successfully worked to bring *Swaraj* without more. But it was not so worked. We have not sufficient honest and able workers. It must be confessed that it has broken down.....We never had even one crore of members on the roll. At the present moment probably our nominal roll does not exceed two lakhs for All-India, and the vast majority of these too are as a rule not interested in our proceedings save for paying four annas and voting .....Mine is a constitutional surrender. All I know is that there is no fight left in me. I have fought my dearest ones. But I fight out of love. But I must first prove my love.....I see I was wrong. I am therefore retracing my steps."

It is improbable that this surrender, which it undoubtedly is will have the effect expected by Gandhi. The Swarajists will merely consider it to be a further confession of weakness. The Mahatma will find that he has sacrificed his friends and his political faith in the vain attempt to secure that unity within the Congress which he so much desires,



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The *Mahratta* of September 14 recognizes the surrender as a noble one ; " History records rare instances of such splendid examples of self-surrender at the revelation of mistakes and blunders. Such confession of failures demands a great moral courage because it satisfies none and engenders the reaction even in followers.....He has again repeated what he so often urged that non-violence is more important than non-co-operation, and the latter without the former is a sin. To our mind the philosophy underlying Mahatmaji's interpretation of non-violence or non-co-operation is absolutely wrong. At least we do not believe in it and have therefore no *shraddha* or faith in it.....He wishes to convert the Congress into a non-political organisation of spinners in order to train the people to non-violence as he understands it."

The article derides Gandhi's plans for the unification of rich and poor by the allotment to the form of menial tasks and heartbreaking labour. The rich, it says, take no interest in politics because they already have what they want. The poor take no interest in politics because they have no time for them. It is the middle classes alone that have the leisure and inclination to fight the political battles of a nation. The proposals by themselves have thus no solid basis to rest on. " We need not repeat here that the Congress is mainly intended for political work, and politics is its life. It is no use connecting it with the thread of the spinning-wheel, because the thread will not stand the strain. Unity between Hindus and Muslims, Brahmins and non-Brahmins, employers and labourers, landlords and tenants, demand special organisation and attention.....The problems are eternal social problems. The Congress is not the proper field for it, it being mainly political. So far as we are concerned we cannot accept the proposals of Mahatmaji. We cannot be a party to this national suicide. Under the Mahatma's proposals all parties would unite, but they will unite to sing the funeral orations over the political Congress of old.

*Page 590, para. 1321—*

*Ahmedabad, September 13.*—M. K. Gandhi underwent X-Ray treatment for a growth, during the week.

He left for Delhi by mail on the morning of September 13 to open, so it is said, the *Hindusthan Times*, which is to be published in Delhi.

*Page, 613, para. 1378—*

(1) *Sind C. I. D., September 20.*—The "*Hindu Jati*" of Hyderabad, Sind, has declared its intention of suspending further comments of Hindu-Muslim questions on account of Gandhi's self-imposed fast.

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(2) *Karachi Headquarters, September 20.*—The news of M. K. Gandhi's 21 days fast reached Karachi on September 19. No action has been taken so far by any political party in Karachi.

(3) *Broach, September 20.*—No Meetings and no political activities during the week. The announcement of Gandhi's long fast is the freshest topic of discussion in non-co-operation circles and the newspaper-reading public. Some are doubtful about Gandhi's capacity to stand this self-imposed strain on his present state of health: others think that this spiritual demonstration would go a long way in weakening the Hindu-Muslim tension ; while still others opine, that such a spontaneous act of penance might appeal to the general masses to some extent, but it would have only a temporary effect. The result of the proposed Peace Conference at Delhi is being awaited with interest.

(4) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 30.*—A meeting to beg Gandhi to abstain from his fast was held in Poona City on September 23. About 600 persons were present and S. G. Lavate presided. The principal speakers were S. M. Paranjpe, J. S. Karandikar, Mrs. Indumatibai Naik, Dr. V. C. Gokhale, Dr. Zakaria, Vastad Ghulam Dastagir, Baburao Motiwalla, Baburao Jagtap, Headmaster, Shivaji High School, and Shripatrao Shinde.

A resolution was passed to the above effect. J. S. Karandikar said that as Hindu-Muslim unity was the object of Gandhi's fast, so a prominent Mahomedan should have observed a similar fast.

Dr. V. C. Gokhale said that the question of *Swaraj* had depended entirely on Hindu-Muslim unity.

Dr. Zakaria speaking in English said that Hindu-Muslim differences were deplored not only by the members of those communities, but by followers of other religions, and even by people whose native-country was not India. Unity in politics could never be expected but the communities could at least agree to differ.

Ghulam Dastagir in a characteristic speech said that some men and newspapers of Poona were also responsible for the present tension. (Here he was about to make some damaging revelations. but was consequently stopped by the other people from the platform.). He went on to show how neither Hindus nor Mahomedans benefited by inter-communal differences. Speaking of the Gulburga riots he said that in order to frustrate the claim made by H. E. H. the Nizam for the Berars certain people in the

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dress of Hindus and Mahommedans were sent to Gulburga from the Residency to create the disturbances. These men were caught and were being tried. Instead of fighting amongst themselves they should use their united strength against the people who caused the riots.

(4-a) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 30.*—Information has reached Poona that Mohamed Ali, when requesting Gandhi to terminate his fast, referred to the Swarajists victories in the Assembly and pointed out that these methods were the only ones that seemed to be of any use in the struggle for freedom, and that non-co-operation had turned out to be a failure. He therefore advised the Mahatma that he should give his unqualified approval to the Swarajists' tactics and that non-co-operation should be dropped. He also pointed out that the fast was not likely to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. It might create a temporary alliance, but Hindu-Muslim "Heart unity" would no be attainable for several years to come.

Gandhi, it is said, was very much impressed by this frank talk and it is possible that he may indulge in a further climb-down before Belgaum.

The Poona people are amused at the fast and ribald tongues are saying that it has been instituted by Gandhi in order to commit suicide so that he may avoid a further downfall.

(5) *Belgaum, September 20.*—G. B. Deshpande has left for Delhi to see Gandhi in connection with his recently proclaimed fast.

*Page 628, para. 1420—*

(1) *Sind, C. I. D., September 27.*—Gandhi's fast has had a marked effect in rousing the leaders to use their influence to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. It is also noticeable that Musalmans are almost as ready as Hindus to accept compromises. At the same time it is obvious that this sweet spirit of reasonableness is entirely due to the fast and the danger to the life of Gandhi. To a detached observer it would seem as though both parties were afraid that Gandhi might die and that the responsibility would lie on them unless they could show that they have done something to remedy the state of affairs which led to the fast. What permanent effect this truce, thus cemented with moral persuasion, is likely to have cannot yet be estimated, but judged by similar former events, it is probable that the artificial cement will be found to have but poor permanent binding qualities, once the moral effect of the fast has worn off.

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The Secretary, Sind Provincial Congress Committee, has received a telegram from the Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, asking that the widest possible publicity be given to Gandhi's fast and the urgent need for unity.

Meetings were held in Karachi on September 25, 27 and 28 under the auspices of the local Congress Committee, Khilafat Committee and Anjuman-i-Tabligh-i-Islam, respectively, to express grief at Gandhi's fast and to urge him to break it, at the same time assuring him that everything possible would be done by the people to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. The Sikhs also held a meeting on September 28 and passed a similar resolution. The Sind Provincial Khilafat Committee has also sent Gandhi a telegram to the same effect.

A meeting of the Sind Hindu-Muslim Conciliation Board was held at Hyderabad on September 28, 1924 when resolutions were passed promising Gandhi that unity would be effected, that the decision arrived by the Unity Conference, Delhi, would be accepted, and requesting editors to refrain from writing articles tending to injure the susceptibility of people of other religions. Editors of the *Musalman Hindu*, *Mirpurkhas Gazette*, *Al-Wahid*, *Sindwasi*, *Bharat-wasi* and *Navjivan*, who were present, promised to act accordingly. The next meeting of the Board has been fixed for October 5, 1924.

(2) *Hyderabad, September 27.*—A certain mild interest is being taken in Gandhi's fast, but there is no activity of any sort.

(3) *Nawabshah, September 27.*—A hartal was observed at Padidan on September 20 owing to Gandhi's fast. The hartal was organised by Srichand Mewaram, Taluka Head Munshi of Thul, U. S. Frontier, who is a resident of Padidan.

(4) *Sukkur, September 27.*—A meeting of about 300 persons was held at Sukkur on September 21 to discuss Gandhi's fast. Virumal Begraj presided. Various speeches were made containing the usual references to Hindu-Muslim unity. A resolution was passed that Gandhi should be informed that the Hindus and Mahommedans of Sukkur were united and that therefore the fast should cease.

A similar meeting was held at Shikarpur on September 22.

After evening prayers, speeches were made in the Achni Musjid, at which it was resolved that the Mahommedans should do nothing to create ill-feeling between themselves and the Hindus.

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Gandhi's decision to fast for twenty-one days had created a certain amount of anxiety and meetings have been held to try and endeavour to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity but it is doubtful whether it will succeed.

(5) *Ahmedabad, September 27.*—Gandhi, just at first, slightly perturbed the public as they thought in his present weak state of health he might die from the effects of his fast; but opinion seems to have quietened down, and they consider now that he will pull through. The mill-hands were requested to offer up prayers without disturbing mill work, by a leaflet distributed by Khandubhai R. Desai, Assistant Secretary, Labour Union. I am not aware from reports that any mill-hands prayed. If they did so, they did it while working.

(6) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 8.*—A meeting of about 1,000 persons was held in Ahmedabad City on September 25 in order to offer prayers for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast. Dr. Hariprasad Vrajrai Desai who was in the chair said "Observing a fast is not a new thing. So many Jain Sadhus observe fast even to an extent of 60 days, but their principle in observing this is the salvation of their souls while Gandhi's object is the salvation of his country ..... As long as there is no unity the third party benefits."

(7) *Panch Mahals, September 27.*—Leaflets have been issued in Dohad informing people that Gandhi was fasting because of Hindu-Muslim riots in various parts of India, and appealing to Hindus and Muslims to live on good terms with one another.

(7-a) *Broach, September 26.*—The District Magistrate writes:— "There was no political activity noticed during the week. No doubt the recent announcement of the long fast by Gandhi has created some stir in some circles and further development will be watched with interest. This threat or self-infliction might bring about a temporary patched-up peace between Hindus and Mahommedans but it will have no permanent effect."

*Ibid., September 27.*—A meeting to discuss Gandhi's fast was held in Broach on September 24. About 300 persons were present including representatives of all shades of political opinion. Utamram Mulji presided. The speeches were of the usual character. A resolution offering prayers to God for the success of Gandhi's efforts on behalf of Hindu-Muslim unity was passed and the audience remained standing for two minutes offering the prayers as directed.

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A meeting of about 50 persons was held on the same subject on September 25 at Amod. In the course of his speech Pranshankar Harishankar Bhatt stated that the doctrine of "*Ahimsa*" (nonviolence) did not mean that the people should become cowards and imbeciles: If the honour and chastity of their women were at stake at any time they had every justification for using violence in self-defence and for their protection.

Gandhi's fast continues to be the only topic of interest in the city at the present moment and the result of the Unity Conference at Delhi is being anxiously awaited.

(8) *Surat, September 27.*—A meeting was convened by the Non-co-operators and Khilafatists in Surat City on September 25 to deliberate on the Hindu-Muslim differences. Dr. Champaklal Jekisondas Ghia was in the' chair and the audience numbered 400. The speakers were:—Dayalji Nanubhai Desai, Hamiduddin Ajmuddin Surti Jamadar, Dr. Karsukhram Virsukhram Vohra, Mohmed Afzal Narmawala, Kanjibhai Nanabhai Desai and Dr. Dosabhai Koblaji.

The President referred to Gandhi's fast in consequence of the existing communal tension and remarked that without unity *Swraj* would be useless ; that Surat was luckily free from such differences owing to the religious heads of the city being sensible men. Resolutions were passed wishing Gandhi long life and the successful termination of his fast, and emphasising the need for preserving the existing feeling of fraternity between the two communities.

(9) *Satara, September 27.*—On September 21, a meeting was held at Wai presided over by Narayan Sadashiv Marathe of Wai. A resolution was passed praying for Gandhi's life and requesting him to give up his fast.

(10)*Belgaum, September 27.*—As the result of Gandhi's fast handbills are being distributed, asking different communities to bury their differences and unite.

(11)*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 8.*—A meeting of about 500 persons was held in Belgaum on September 28 to pray for the success of the termination of Gandhi's fast.

" It is alleged that these outrages (Hindu-Muslim riots) are due to the instigation of foreigners. But nevertheless it is shameful on our part that Hindus and Mahommedans being neighbours should subject to such instigations."

A resolution was passed in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity. All castes and creeds were represented at the meeting.

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*Page 641, para. 1454—*

(1) *Sind, C. I. D., October 8.*—In order to celebrate the termination of Gandhi's fast a meeting attended by about 300 persons and presided over by Krishnanand son of Bhumanand, President of the Karachi Congress Committee, was held in the Khalikdina Hall, Karachi, on October 8, 1924. At this a resolution was passed welcoming the decisions of the Unity Conference, appealing to editors, writers, speakers and preachers in Sind to assist in the establishment of better relations between the various communities and thanking God for preserving Gandhi's life through the long fast.

A meeting for the same purpose of the Parsis in Karachi presided over by Jamshed, N. R. Mehta, was also held the same evening. Miss Mehra Rabadi chanted a poem eulogising the services of Gandhi, and Nariman S. Golwala, R. K. Sidhwa and Jamshed N. R. Mehta spoke on his greatness.

Similar meetings are reported to have been held in other parts of Sind in pursuance of the instructions issued by the All-India and Provincial Congress Committees.

The appeal in the press by Dr. Choithram Partabrai Gidwani, President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee that all schools should be closed, was not acted upon by the Municipal and other schools in Karachi with the exception of the national schools.

Despite these celebrations there are few, if any signs of real unity and even Jairamdas Daulatram and Choithram Partabrai Gidwani, freshly returned from Delhi, do not seem to be quite satisfied. The former has stated that the Conference's decisions have really satisfied neither party and that the heart unity required by Gandhi has yet to come.

The Musalmans in Sind outwardly at least have shown but little interest in the fast or the Conference and it is perhaps significant that only three, viz.; Muhammad Khan Gazi Khan, Pir Illahi Bakhsh, Shah son of Nawazali Shah and Jamalud-Din Hassan Bukhari men who practically speaking live by agitation attended the meeting in the Khalikdina Hall on October 8, 1924.

Punjab Muslim papers, such as Kitchlew's paper *Tanzim*, are widely read in Sind and that paper's objection to the clause in the Conference resolution, that cow-killing by Muslims should not be started where it has not already been customary, is likely to meet with approval here.



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(2) *Kathiawar Agency, October 4.*—On September 28, a meeting was held in Rajkot presided over by D. B. Shukla, Bar-at-Law. Attendance about 150. This meeting was brought about by Gandhi's fast. Hindu-Muslim unity was urged, and Shukla suggested the establishment of a committee of three Hindus and three Mahommedans to settle local intercommunal disputes.

A similar meeting was held in Bagasra on the same day. The attendance was about 250. The speeches were of no importance. The local merchants were taken to task for the lack of interest they displayed in the meeting.

(3) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 14.*—A meeting of about 2,000 persons was held at Ahmedabad on October 8 to celebrate the successful termination of Gandhi's fast. The chief speaker was Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar. Amongst those present were Vallabhbai J. Patel, Dr. Hariprasad Vrajraj and Manilal Vallabhji Kothari. Kalelkar described the success that had attended the unity conference at Delhi, and urged the two communities to support the decision of the Conference.

(3-a) *Bijapur, October 4.*—About 15 Brahmins met in the Maruti Temple at Badami on September 26 to pray for unity between the Hindus and Mahommedans and for the health and long life of Gandhi.

A public meeting was held at Bagalkot on September 28 to offer prayers for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast and for the achievement of the object with which it had been imposed. It was proposed to establish Conciliation Boards to arrange disputes between the Communities.

(4) *West Khandesh, October 4.*—A meeting was convened at Pachora presided over by Maulvi Abdulla of Jamner. One Eknath Vasudev Kshire addressed 200 Hindus and Mahommedans with regard to Gandhi's fast and Hindu-Muslim unity. A telegram concerning the meeting was sent to M. K. Gandhi. The effect of the meeting was to establish good relations between the Hindus and Mahommedans, and the reports are that this was accomplished.

A similar meeting was held at Bodwad on September 30, attended by 125 persons, mostly Mahommedans. The organiser, president and speaker was Hamjekhan Nawajkhan of Nadura, Central Provinces.

(5) *Sholapur, October 4.*—Public meetings were held in Sholapur, Barsi and Pandharpur on September 25, 28 and 29 under the presidentship of Ramchandra Moreshwar Sane at Barsi; Rangnath Vishnu Lalit, Pleader at Sholapur, and Ganesh Eknath Kowgi, at



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Pandharpur. Resolutions were passed that there existed unity between Hindus and Mahommedans and that Gandhi should be requested to break his fast. These were only paper resolutions and perfect unity cannot be said to have been effected between the two communities.

(6) *Satara, October 4.*—Two meetings have been held in Satara on September 26 and 28, and one in Karad on September 30 in connection with Gandhi's fast. Resolutions were passed on the subject of the unity of Hindus and Mahommedans. The attendance at all the meetings was small, the audience consisting mostly of Brahmins.

(7) *Belgaum, October 4.*—Meetings were held at the following places in connection with Gandhi's fast:—

(1) Belgaum City (Maruti temple) on September 29 ; attendance 500. Mahommedans apparently are not much interested in the fast because out of the attendance of 500, only 20 were Mahommedans. The following two resolutions were passed:—

(1) To offer prayers for strength to be given to Gandhi to come through his fast safely; (2) that the Karnatic is willing to abide by the decisions of the Delhi Unity Conference. Both resolutions were wired to the Conference and Gandhi at Delhi.

(2) *Khanapur on September 26.*—The attendance was 30. All Brahmins.

(3) *Murgod (Dyamawa's temple), September 29.*—Fifty of all castes attended.

(4) *Chicodi (Venkatesh temple), September 28.*—Attendance 40. All Brahmins.

At all meetings Gandhi's fast was referred to and people were asked to offer prayers for its successful and safe termination.

(8) *Dharwar, October 4.*—Hindu-Mahommedan unity meeting were held in the district during the week at Dharwar, Hubli, Gadag, Myadgi and Kalghatgi. Speeches were made by the non-co-operation leaders urging unity and the cessation of Gandhi's fast. I do not think the Mahommedans care two hoots whether Gandhi lives or dies. Out of an audience of 100 at Hubli, only 12 Mahommedans attended, which shows the interest they take in him.

Basaprabhappa Mallappa Kadkol, M.B.B.S., of Hubli, is observing a fast of 7 days from September 27 in honour of Gandhi's fast. The Congress Committee of Hubli have supplied him with a *charkha* and cotton to produce yarn. He has suspended his practice for a week.

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(9) *Kanara, October 4.*—Leaflets signed by some prominent citizens of Karwar town, appealing to men and women all communities to offer-up prayers during the critical period of Gandhi's fast, to make his vow a complete success, and to uproot the spirit of religious strife, were circulated in the town of Karwar.

A meeting to discuss Gandhi's fast was held on October 1st at Kumta. About 300 persons were present. Madhav Ram Shanbhag, President of the Taluka Congress Committee, described the circumstances which had led Gandhi to observe his fast. Prayers were offered for the successful termination of the fast.

*Page 652, para 1477—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 21.*—The following appears in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 17th instant: —

### MAHATMA.

*Delhi, October 15.*

Mr. Gandhi is now fairly progressing towards complete recovery and it is expected that he will be in a position to undertake his contemplated journey to Kohat after a fortnight or three weeks. During the last two or three days he had important conversations with leaders of the different communities and parties. It is understood that the Swarajists are now negotiating with Mr. Gandhi for rescinding the Ahmedabad resolutions which require every member of the All-India Congress Committee and other officials of the Congress to spin monthly two thousand yards of yarn.

*Page 658, para. 1491—*

(1) *Karachi Headquarters, October 11.*—Meetings to celebrate the successful termination of Gandhi's fast were held in Karachi City on October 8. Two of the meetings were held under the auspices of the District Congress Committee; the other, a small one, was held under the auspices of the local persons. A resolution passed at one of the former meetings supported the decision of the Delhi Unity Conference and appealed to the editors, writers, speakers and preachers of Sind to assist in the establishment of better relations between the various communities. R. K. Sidhwa who attended the Unity Conference gave an account of the meetings and begged for unity for the sake of the nation.

(2) *Nawabshah, October 11.*—On October 8, at the request of some of the citizens of Shahdadpur, the President of the Municipality ordered the Municipal school to be closed for the whole day in celebration of the breaking of Gandhi's fast.

The shops were closed in Shahdadpur for one hour same day for the same reason.

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(3)*Sukkur, October 11.*—Meetings to celebrate the successful termination, of Gandhi's fast were held in Sukkur, Rohri and Shikarpur towns on October 8.

(4)*Kathiawar Agency, October 11*—A meeting attended by about 500 persons was held in Rajkot City limits on October 8 to make thanksgiving for the successful termination of Gandhi's attempt to bring about unity between Hindus and Mahommedans.

(5)*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 21.*—A meeting was held on October 8 in Ahmedabad City to celebrate the successful termination of Gandhi's fast. About 2,000 persons were present, Vallabhbai J. Patel, being in the chair. Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar, Manilal V. Kothari and the President all made suitable remarks. Manilal gave an account of the proceedings of the Unity Conference and described how friendly relations were established between Mohammed Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the one side and Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shradhanand on the other.

(6)*Broach, October 11.*—Meetings were held in the following places to celebrate the successful termination of Gandhi's fast, Broach City, where Dr. Chandulal Manilal Desai said that the people should help the Police should the rowdy element in the town begin to commit any mischief, at Amod, and at Ankleshwar. The latter two meetings were quite small.

(7)*Thana, October 11.*—Meetings were held at Thana and Kalyan on October 7 and 8 in thanksgiving for Gandhi having safely completed his 21 days fast.

(8)*Ahmednagar, October 11.*—A meeting to pray for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast was held at Parner on October 7 ; unity and adherence to the Congress creed was urged upon the audience.

(9)*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 21.*—A public meeting attended by about 1,000 persons was held in Poona City on October 8 under the presidentship of N. C. Kelkar. The object of the meeting was to express gratitude to God for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast and to support the decisions arrived at by the Unity Conference. The speakers were S. G. Lavate, T. H. Avte, D. V. Gokhale, S. D. Deo, L. B. Bhopatkar, S. K. Damle, Gulam Mohidin, Abdulla Isac and G. K. Deodhar. The speeches were unremarkable, except that of S. K. Damle who said that riots at Gulbarga and other places must have been engineered by some third party which was against ceding the Berars to His Highness the Nizam and whose hostility had been aroused by the action taken by the Legislative Assembly regarding the Lee Commission Report.

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Abdulla Isac said that Mahommedans were not really beefeaters but that Hindus and Europeans consumed the greatest quantity of this food. This remark apparently being not well received by the audience the speaker changed his version and said that the Mahars and Mangs were the chief beef-eaters, particularly when converted to the Islamic faith.

(10) *Belgaum, October 11.*—A meeting was held in connection with Gandhi's fast in the market, Belgaum City, on October 8. The audience was 2,000 of which about 200 were Mahommedans. Moulvi Kitbuddin presided; and Annubuwa Arjunvadkar, Maulvi Nizamuddin, Keshav Govind Gokhale, Pandit Rayappa Chikodi and G. B. Deshpande, spoke on the necessity for unity between Hindus and Mahommedans and congratulated Gandhi on his effort.

Similar meetings were held at Khanapur, Kittur and Pachhapur but the attendance was poor.

(11) *Kanara, October 11.*—On September 28 about 20 men, including the students of the national school, went through the town in a procession with national flags and music and visited the local temples where they offered prayers for success to Gandhi's fast.

Similar processions were held at Honawar and Ankola on October 2 and 8 respectively. The photograph of Gandhi was taken through the towns and prayers were offered in the temples.

A public meeting attended by about 100 Hindus and Mahommedans and presided over by Dattatraya Bhaskar Nadkarni, Pleader of Karwar, was held at Karwar on the Municipal Market Ground on October 8 to celebrate the day on which Gandhi broke his fast. The President' explained the object of the meeting and said that Gandhi had broken his fast that day. Krishna Ramchandra Haldipur deplored the existence of communal discord among the Hindus and Muslims and explained the object for which Gandhi had observed the fast. He, therefore, called upon the audience to bring about healthy relations between the two sister communities, to spin yarn on *charkhas* and to remove untouchability, and to respect Gandhi's mandates. He then read out the resolutions passed at the Unity Conference at Delhi. Sayyad Adam Sayyad Imam, Shantaram alias Subrao Ramchandra Haldipur, Srinivas Vaikunth Mahale and Sayyad Rahimtulla, son of Habibullah, Maulvi of Gova, all spoke in the same strain.

S. R. Haldipur added in his speech that the Bureaucracy was mainly responsible for the discontent prevailing among the people and by so doing they want to frustrate the attainment of Swaraj. He

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narrated a fable of the monkeys and the two cats quarrelling over a piece of *cheese*, and said that in the same way the Bureaucracy was imparting justice to the people of India. He said that it was, therefore, quite essential that the people should be united with a common object as their goal and so weaken the Bureaucracy.

(12)*Ratnagiri, October 11.*—A meeting attended by about 60 people was held at Malwan on October 2 to pray for the successful termination of Gandhi's fast.

(13)*Kolaba, October 11.*—A meeting was held on October 8 at Alibag under presidentship of Wasudev Krishna Dhebri, Pleader in connection with Gandhi's successful fast and the resolution passed at the Delhi Unity Conference. About 60 attended. M. R. Gosavi said that Gandhi had observed a 21 day's fast in order to bring about unity and, therefore, moved a resolution to the effect that Mahommedans should stop cow-slaughter, and that Alibag people should approve of the unity, resolution passed by the 400 Hindu-Muslim leaders at the Delhi Unity Conference. Khan Saheb Mohammed Inus said that in Alibag Hindus and Mahommedans already lived in harmony; that cow-slaughter never occurred and, therefore, there was no necessity for passing any such resolution. Yeshwant Govind Gujar, Janardhan Vishnu Lele, Pleader, and P. Nagardas Gujar in speaking supported him. But Kashinath Waman Kunte, Pleader, and Damodar Gopal Dhabu, Pleader, insisted on the resolution being passed, which was eventually carried unanimously.

(14)*Bombay City, S. B., October 13.*—On the day preceding the breaking of his fast by Gandhi the Mandvi District Congress Committee organised a procession to celebrate the termination of the week of special prayers observed by the Jains of Mandvi locality in their temple at Kharak Bazar. These prayers had been offered up from 1st to 7th October to ask that strength might be vouchsafed to M. K. Gandhi to survive the ordeal. The procession consisted of about 500 persons some of whom carried posters bearing! the words " Hindu-Muslim Unity", " Wear khaddar" etc., etc.

*Page 677, para. 1533—*

(1) *Ahmednagar, October 18.*—A meeting of 200 persons was held at Sangamner on October 8 to celebrate the termination of Gandhi's fast.

A similar meeting attended by 250 persons was held at Kopergaon on the same day.

Celebrations were also held in Ahmednagar City.

(2) *Satara, October 18.*—The eighth of October—the day Gandhi broke his fast—was celebrated in Satara by a public meeting at which about 185 Brahmins, 10 Mahrattas, 2 Mahommedans and 3 Marwaris were present. R. G. Soman, Pleader, was in the chair. The resolutions of the Delhi Conference were supported.

(3) *Belgaum, October 18.*—Congratulatory meeting on the conclusion of Gandhi's fast were held at Nipani, Bail-Hongal, Murgod and Chikodi on October 8.

*Page 736, para. 1668 (5)*—

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 26.*—The following is taken from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated November 26, 1924.

Belgaum, November 25.

Mahatma Gandhi has finally accepted the presidentship of the Belgaum Congress.

The Subjects Committee will meet on the morning and afternoon of 23rd December and forenoon of 24th. The Congress Session will begin on the afternoon of 26th and continue till 28th.

Mahatma Gandhi has also accepted the presidentship of the Cow Conference to be held here at the same time.

The Khilafat Conference will hold its sittings on 25th December.

*Page 753, para. 1703 (6)*—

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 3.*—(a) M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari arrived in Bombay from Delhi on November 20 at 6 a.m. He held private discussions at his residence at Gamdevi regarding the items which would form the subject-matter of discussion at the All-India Congress Committee meeting and the leaders Conference to be held on the following day and the day after. The following leaders were present:

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C. R. Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, M. R. Jayakar, Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Shankarlal Banker, Vallabhbai J. Patel and Konda Venkattappa.

The main point of discussion was the alteration of the Congress Programme in such a way as to bring on the Congress platform all the parties that have seceded from the Congress. Gandhi said that so far as he was concerned he had made sufficient concessions



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in the alteration of the programme as laid down in the joint statement issued by him, Das and Nehru and that it was not possible for him to do any thing more consistent with his political convictions and self-respect. He said that if the item of spinning franchise were the bone of contention between the Liberals and the Congressmen he for one would not give in, but if the Swarajists liked to gain the support of the liberals for Council propaganda, they should try to bring about a settlement with them, but if the spinning clause were set aside he would not preside at the Belgaum Congress. He would, however, not leave the Congress forever, but would continue as its member and would keep under his charge departments such as Hindu-Muslim unity, Khaddar and untouchability while the other functions of the Congress would be performed by the party in majority. As regards bringing the Liberals on the common platform, Gandhi said that they should decide in the first instance the definition of Swaraj.—particularly whether *Swaraj* should be within the Empire or without. His own suggestion was that *Swaraj* should be their goal within the Empire if possible or without it if necessary—thereby meaning that the first alternative would bring the Liberals into a common fold and throw responsibility on Englishmen of discharging their duties keeping the goal of the Indians in mind. C. R. Das said that he was also ready to make as many concessions to the Liberals as were consistent with his party's principles and if the Liberals accepted them, the will of the party that would be in majority would be executed. Shankarlal Banker said that the No-changers were also prepared to give fair trial to the Swarajists for sometime and that all of them should agree to present an united front to the bureaucracy. Gandhi then said that C. R. Das should try to settle their differences with the Liberals because it was the Swaraj Party which would require the Liberals assistance in the Councils. He would also consult the No-changers on the basis of a common programme and then draw up a resolution so as to suit all the parties at the Conference.

Gandhi advised all present that the question of the Bengal Ordinance should be set aside for the time being till the differences between the Liberals and the Swarajists are settled.

A private meeting of Managing Committee of the non-Brahmin Backward classes was held under the auspices of the Peoples' Union at 7 p.m. on November 19, at Vandekar's Mansions, Lamington Road. S. K. Bole, R. V. Vandekar, A. N. Surve, R. S. Asavle and Pandurang Javji were present. They decided that those who had received invitations should attend the Bombay Leaders Conference

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at Muzaffarabad Hall on November 21 and 22, in their personal capacity but they should express the fundamental differences that existed between the Backward classes, whose goal was to attain *Swaraj* within the British Empire by constitutional means, and the extremist parties. They further decided to give an address to His Excellency the Viceroy on December 4, 1924. In the afternoon of November 20, Gandhi had a lengthy interview with C. Y. Chintamani and Rao Bahadur Dhule of the National Liberal Federation. Gandhi expressed his willingness, to give to the Liberals every possible latitude to rejoin the Congress, and said that the proposed new creed of the Congress, namely, *Swaraj* within the Empire if possible and without it if necessary should be acceptable to the Liberals. With regard to the spinning franchise he said that he had already conceded much, to the disappointment of the No-changers. Chintamani showed the telegram which he had received from the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri to the effect that the Liberals could not reasonably join the Congress unless Gandhi abandoned the non-co-operation instead of suspending the same and unless the Congress Programme were thoroughly overhauled. Chintamani replied that he would place his views before the meeting of the federation that was to be held that evening though he made it clear that he was not very hopeful of bringing the Liberals round owing to fundamental differences.

Gandhi then held a consultation with the No-changers, namely, S. G. Banker, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Konda Venkattappa and G. B. Deshpande. These No-changers emphasised the importance of maintaining the Khaddar programme through for the sake of unity they were prepared to accept Gandhi's proposals to bring together all the parties on a common platform.

The Working Committee of the Congress met on November 21 at 8-30 a.m. in Gandhi's house. The following members were present:—

Mohamed Ali, M. K. Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Ansari, Konda Venkattappa, G. B. Deshpande, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and S. G. Banker.

After disposing of unimportant items of a routine and administrative character on the agenda, the Working Committee of the Congress resumed discussion on items 2 and 3 of the agenda, viz., (1) to consider present political situation in the country and (2) the programme to be placed before the Congress.

Gandhi suggested that there being no two opinions on the question, it would be in the fitness of things to place before that Conference, a resolution which should be acceptable to all the



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parties in the Conference He argued that if they handled other questions such as the creed of the Congress and the spinning franchise there might arise disagreement which would be prejudicial to the main object of calling the Conference. Gandhi therefore suggested that instead of taking a hazardous step of placing a resolution drafted by the Working Committee they should ask the Conference to appoint a representative Committee to deal with the repressive policy of the Government of India. The members of the Working Committee unanimously agreed to this suggestion.

*Pages 754-755—*

(b) Gandhi and his party then left for the Muzaffarabad Hall to attend the Party Conference at 4 p.m. The proceedings of the Party Conference commenced at the appointed time and nearly 275 members of the All-India Congress Committee and about 200 persons of different political parties and outsiders attended the Conference. About 50 persons belonging to no party such as solicitors, doctors and merchants were also present. Prominent amongst those present were:—M. K. Gandhi, Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Lady Emmily Lutyens, the Right Hon. Mr. Sastri, Shri. Dinshaw Petit, Pandit Motilal Nehru, C. Y. Chintamani, B. S. Kamat, Vithalbhai J. Patel, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, M. A. Jinnah, M. R. Jaykar, C. R. Das, G. B. Deshpande, A. N. Surve, B. C. Pal, J. B. Petit, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Kanji Dwarkadas, Sir Purshottam Thakordas, C. R. Reddy, S. Satyamurthy, K. P. Khadilkar, K. F. Nariman, B. N. Motiwala, K. Natrajan, Marmaduke Pickthall, B. Chakravarti, Dr. Ansari, Abdul Kalam Azad, Hon. Mr. Sethna, Dr. Sukhia, Hakim Ajmal Khan, S. A. Brelvi, M. K. Patel and N. D. Savarkar.

Mohamed Ali as President of the Congress opened the Conference by welcoming the representatives of different political parties and suggesting that Sir Dinshaw Petit be elected the Chairman of the Conference as he belonged to no party. His suggestion was accepted and Sir Dinshaw Petit took the chair. After introductory remarks by the Chairman, Gandhi proposed the following resolution:—" That a small committee, consisting of the' leaders of the several parties represented at the Conference be appointed for the preparation of a draft resolution for submission to the Conference, with reference to the repressive measures adopted by the Government of Bengal with the concurrence and approval of the Government of India, the committee to report to the chairman at or about 10 p.m. what resolution they would frame."

Pandit Motilal Nehru seconded the resolution. R. Venkatram ex-Assistant Editor of the *Chronicle*, opposed it. Mr. K. Natrajan

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supported the resolution. Mrs. Besant in a speech tried to justify the passing of the ordinance. Mrs. Besant was immediately attacked by Pandit K. Malaviya and S. Satyamurthy. A. N. Surve objected to Gandhi's resolution being allowed the first place on the agenda of the day on the grounds that the principal business before the Conference was the unity of all parties and that the question should have been taken up first. He found one or two supporters of his views. Gandhi replied that the object of putting his resolution first was to see whether it was possible for them to come to a common decision which was acceptable to all. He argued that if it was possible for them to agree to his proposition, would then be possible for them to find a common platform. Babu Girish Chunder complained that if the Conference was supposed to be an All-Party Conference the Communist Party should have been invited to the Conference. Mrs. Naidu replied that two invitation cards had already been issued to the individuals represented by the paper *Socialist* in Bombay.

Eventually Gandhi's resolution was put to the vote and carried by a majority. The following committee was appointed to draft the resolution:—

Sir Dinshaw Petit, M. K. Gandhi, V. J. Patel, C. R. Das, Mrs. Besant, Shrinivas Sastri, C. Y. Chintamani, M. A. Jinnah, J. B. Petit, C. R. Reddy, B. C. Pal, Motilal Nehru, Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Lala Harikishen Lal, K. Natranjan, A. N. Surve, Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, Dr. B. S. Munje, Dr. Ansari, Abdul Kalam Azad, B. S. Kamat and C. V. Narsinha Raju.

The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the above committee which will be discussed by the Conference this afternoon:—

(a) While firmly of opinion that anarchical organisation can never secure *Swaraj* to the people of India, and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organisation if any, this Conference representing all classes and communities of India and every variety of political opinion, views with strongest disapproval and condemns the action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such an extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the legislature and as it easily lends itself, at the hands of the Executive, to grave abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated.

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(b) This Conference urges the immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance and the trial, if necessary, and in accordance with the ordinary law of the persons detained under it.

(c) This Conference further urges that Regulation III of 1813 which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes, without warrant, without trial and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn.

(d) This Conference records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of just rights long overdue of the people, and that the speedy establishment of *Swaraj* is the only effective remedy therefore.

The second day's proceedings of the All-Party Conference commenced at 12 noon on November 22 at Muzaffarabad Hall under the presidency of the Right Honourable Srinivas Sastri in the absence of Sir Dinshaw Petit on account of ill-health. The Conference then proceeded to discuss the resolution drafted by the Committee the previous night in connection with the Bengal Ordinance. C Y. Chintamani, in moving the said resolution made a lengthy speech condemning the ordinance and emphasising the evil intent of Government in issuing it after the Legislative Assembly had dispersed.

Bepin Chandra Pal, seconding the resolution, said that Government conducted political prosecutions by relying on the evidence of Police report, of Police spies and on the statements procured from Secret Service agents. That being so Government could not produce the Secret Service Agents but had to rely on ordinances. The Secret Service evidence, he said, come from all ranks of society and as it was impolitic to produce that evidence in a court of law Government dealt with the offenders concerned through special Ordinances, which was against all sense of liberty. Government, he argued, gave cause to the people to make a resolution and to develop it into a bloody revolution.

George Joseph suggested that the resolution be so amended as to express condemnation of the conduct of those also who either instigated the people to commit anarchical acts or who countenanced the commission of such acts. Pandit Motilal Nehru said that no sensible man would forgive the commission of anarchical acts for, he added, such acts were like diseases and he believed that a disease was a disease and that whatever be the cause of the disease, that cause did not make the disease any less a disease. Similarly a crime was a crime whatever the motive they lay behind it.

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Sardar Mangalsing, an Akali leader said that he would support the resolution out of sympathy for that innocent victims of the Bengal Ordinance.

Shaukat Ali made an incoherent speech in which were sandwiched remarks on domestic, communal and political points.

The resolution was wound up by a speech of C. R. Das who tried to prove that there was no case of a political offender in which the witnesses, the Jury, the assessors or the Judge were terrorised by anarchists. He said that anarchy arose from the conduct of Government, such as that of Lord Curzon who once said that he could defy the Bengal agitators by one stroke of the pen. The consequence was that Bengal took up the challenge and the political agitation against the partition of Bengal went on increasing.

At the suggestion of Mrs. Besant the resolution was put to vote in three parts (a) and (b) being taken together and (c) and (d) being taken separately. All the three parts of the resolution were passed.

The next business before the Conference was the appointment of a committee for the purpose of re-uniting all the parties in the Congress and to prepare a scheme of *Swaraj* including the solution of Hindu-Muslim unity and the like questions. Below is the text of the resolution moved by Gandhi and seconded by C. R. Das:—

"This Conference appoints a Committee consisting of the Gentlemen named below to consider the best way of re-uniting all political parties in the National Congress and to prepare a scheme of *Swaraj* including the solution of Hindu-Muslim and like questions in their political aspects and to report not later than March 31, 1925, and to combine this Conference at a date not later than April 15, 1925, the report of the Committee to be published in the Press a fortnight before the Conference."

The members forming the Committee are M. K. Gandhi, Right Honourable Mr. Sastri, C. Y. Chintamani, S. Srinivas Iyengar, Sir Purshottam Thakordas, M. A. Jinnah, Joseph Baptista, Mohamed Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, T. V. Parvate, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, R. P. Paranjpe, Sir Sivasamy Iyer, S. S. Shinde, C. R. Das, Mohamed Yakub, M. H. Kidwai, President of the European Association, President of the Anglo-Indian Association, President of the Christian Association, President of the Non-Brahmin Association, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Hakim Ajmal Khan, J. B. Petit, Babu Bhagwandas, N. C. Kelkar, Pattabhi Sitaramaya, Sardar Mangalsingh, Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru (Secretary). J. K. Mehta moved an amendment asking the Committee to report by December 15, 1924, but it was thrown out.

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The consensus of opinion is that Gandhi has again fooled all the leaders in the Conference and has put off the evil day by getting the two Committees appointed on two burning questions of the day, namely, the Bengal Ordinance and the unity of all parties. Mohamed Ali then made an appeal to all the representatives in the Conference to sustain and strengthen the present unity by meeting at Belgaum, if not on a common platform, at least in a common place. He also appealed to the various associations such as the Liberal Federation, Muslim League, etc., to hold their Sessions at Belgaum. The representative present there said that they would do their best to respond to Mohamed Ali's appeal. The Conference was then dissolved with the announcement that the All-India Congress Committee would meet at 12 noon on November 23 and that after it was over, the Council of the Swaraj Party would hold its meeting at the same place.

The Committee appointed by the Conference to secure unity of all parties met at the same place soon after the dissolution of Conference to discuss the programme of work. The Committee decided to invite the several party organisations throughout the country to submit, by December 20, their respective conditions for re-entering the Congress together with their suggestions regarding the *Swaraj* Scheme.

Leaflets in Gujarati protesting against the above Unity Conference and condemning the attitude of Gandhi and Mohamed Ali towards the Sanatan Hindus were distributed in the vicinity of the Conference Hall.

The leaflet is published over the signatures of Sastri Maganlal Jagannath Sinorwalla and Naranji Purshottam Sanghani and is said to be issued on behalf of the *Swadharma Swaraj Sabha*. The writer attacks Gandhi for having given the go-bye to political matters in order to make room for useless khaddar and *charkha* propaganda. Not only this, by his handling the question of untouchability he has brought into contempt the priests and the Hindu "Sastras". The question of cow-slaughter has been put aside and by his encouragement to the Mahommedants and the Khilafat Propaganda, riots have occurred all over India and the life, property, reputation and temples of the Hindus have been placed in danger. The leaflet ridicules Gandhi's fast which the writer says was merely undertaken to restore the prestige of the Mahatma and which has since been proved to have been useless in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. The Sabha attacks Mohamed Ali as President of the All-India Conference for not having invited the representatives of the Sabha to attend the Congress and concludes by warning all Hindus against the activities of the Congress under its present administration.

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*Page 761, para. 1704 (10)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, December 3.*—On November 23, the All-India Congress Committee met at the Muzaffarabad Hall under Mohamed Ali's presidency to consider the Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact drawn up at Calcutta. Gandhi made a lengthy statement appealing to all the members not to move any amendment but to either accept the pact or reject it *in toto*. The pact was accepted by all except two No-changers.

The same day a private meeting of Executive Council of the Swaraj Party was held at the same place under the presidency of C. R. Das. The following resolutions were adopted:—

(1) Resolved that the arrangement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and the Executive Council of the Swaraj Party at Calcutta be accepted.

(2) Resolved that Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru be authorised to add a note to the following effect to "Calcutta Agreement" in consultation with Mahatma Gandhi.

This arrangement does not preclude any Congressman who on conscientious grounds desires to practice non-co-operation in person from doing so without prejudice to, or interference with, the activities of the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress.

*Page 776, para. 1738 (8)—*

*Bombay City, S. B., November 25.*—A meeting of the Citizens of Bombay was held on the Chaupati sands on November 23rd under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, Central Khilafat Committee, Rashtriya Stree Sabha, Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, National Home Rule League and Bombay Swarajya Party. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided. About 4,000 people attended. Messrs. Gandhi, C. R. Das, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Shaukat Ali, Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale and the President addressed the audience, eulogising the services of Bi Amma for India and exhorting the people to follow in her footsteps if they wanted to win *Swaraj* for their country. *Page 788, para. 1769 (a) (b)—*

*Kaira, December 6.*—M. K. Gandhi is expected to visit Borsad about January 15, 1925.

(b) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, December 18.*—In connection with Gandhi's statement in the Punjab that he was thinking out a new Programme and that those who adopt it will either attain *Swaraj* or meet with death without the intermediate step of going to jail, V. M. Potdar and S. M. Paranjpe say that they cannot make anything of it. They also believe that Gandhi knows that he has lost his popularity and that the enthusiasm of the people has also disappeared and that the above may be intended to rouse both.



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**1925**

*Page 17, para. 42 (a)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 8.*—Although only a part of the temporary erections in the Congress camp were ready, delegates, visitors and volunteers began to arrive several days before the Congress was due to commence. The site of the camp was at Thalakwadi, about half a mile from the Belgaum Railway Station. The whole camp was enclosed within a fencing and the huts and other erections within the enclosure were made of bamboo and khaddar. The large Congress Pandal and the whole of the temporary buildings put up were insured for two lacs of rupees. As the actual value was only about one lac, it was locally rumoured that the organisers might set-fire to the booths towards the end of the session and thereby get a net profit of one lac. However, in spite of several small fires, this desirable consummation never took place. A temporary railway station was opened in the camp, and while the Congress was at its height several special trains were run both from the North and South which stopped there. All other passenger trains, except the Mails, also stopped there.

A newspaper entitled the *Navashakti* was published every day in the camp. It was edited by R. S. Hukkerikar and copies were sold at one anna each. In it appeared the news of the camp, notices regarding meetings, leaders on topical subjects and advertisements.

The Congress volunteers were much in evidence, about 1,000 being present, male and female. They were all under the command of Dr. N. S. Hardikar. According to local information, most of the male volunteers were either immature males or adults of bad character, while the moral of the lady volunteers, it is said, left much to be desired.

Gandhi arrived on December 21 and received a hearty welcome. Addresses were presented to him the same evening by the District Local Boards and the City Municipality, Belgaum. In his speech of thanks he advised these bodies to devote their first attention to the work of sanitation and Local Self-Government. Politics, he said, should only be taken up as luxury after these duties had been fulfilled.

The All-India Congress Committee met on December 23 with Mahomed Ali in the chair. The annual report for the year 1924, was then submitted to the Committee. It was couched in somewhat gloomy language. Communal friction and a feeling of uncertainty as the future programme of the Congress had interfered very much with the Congress work. The programme chalked out at Coconada

had not been successfully followed. Many of the Provincial Congress Committee, said the report, had not been working properly. Some had not sent reports, and such reports as had been received had been usually meagre and unsatisfactory. Congress membership was low and collection for the Tilak Swaraj Fund poor. The organisation of volunteers, which had been largely left to the Hindustani Sewa Dal, had not made very much progress.

After a formal vote of thanks Mahomed Ali vacated the chair in favour of Gandhi. After ascertaining the composition of the house it was found that there were 65 No-changers and 58 Swarajists present. Gandhi then addressed the meeting on the subject of the Gandhi-Das Pact. He urged the Committee to give this Pact their fullest consideration.

C. R. Das then spoke on the same subject. He said that many Swarajists did not agree with the pact, but as the representatives of the Party had accepted it, so the rank and file must follow their example. Further discussion was not allowed by Gandhi, and a small Sub-Committee of 15 members was then appointed to prepare and draft resolutions on the subject on the Pact and the Spinning Franchise. The names of the 15 members of the Sub-Committee are as follows:—M. K. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad, B. Ramdas, C. R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. N. S. Paranjpe, Hasrat Mohani, Konda Venkatappaya, Lala Lajpatrai, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, N. C. Kelkar, Pattabhi Sitaramaya, Rajendra Babu and Shrinivas Iyengar. It will be noticed that out of these fifteen, nine are Swarajists.

The Sub-Committee was not elected but was appointed as it were by acclamation, Gandhi being guided very largely by N. C. Kelkar in his selections.

The Sub-Committee then met and submitted the following resolutions:—

- (1) Endorsing the Gandhi-Das Pact
- and
- (2) Urging the use of Khaddar and the acceptance of the spinning franchise.

The remaining resolutions were all on the subject of the khaddar propaganda.

The following resolutions were decided upon by the Subcommittee at various meetings held on December 24 and 25:—

- (1) Expressing dissatisfaction with the position of Indians overseas in South Africa and Kenya.



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(2) Expressing sorrow at the deaths of various leaders.

(3) Deploring the assassination of the late Sir Lee Stack, but condemning the action taken by the British Government in Egypt.

(4) Expressing sympathy with the Burmans.

(5) Congratulating the Akalis upon their great and silent suffering in the cause of Gurdwara reform.

(6) Deploring the tension between Hindus and Mahommedans which exists in many parts of India and particularly referring to the recent Kohat riots. The resolutions also stated that the local authorities had failed to perform their primary duties of protection to life and property, and advised the public not to accept the finding of the Government of India on this question.

(7) On the subject of national education, it made compulsory hand-spinning, weaving and physical training by all teachers and students of national institutions. Urging the formation of a Paid National Service, in order to enable young men and women who desire to serve their country, but who are deterred from doing so by poverty, to accept remuneration for national work.

There was considerable argument with regard to the resolution on the subject of recent events in Egypt because, while condemning the policy of reprisals, it also condemned the murder of the late Sardar. The objection of this was that the people of Egypt had not taken the vow of non-violence and that the people of India were not competent to judge between the British Government and the Egyptian people in the matter.

There was certain amount of Hindu-Muslim tension over the resolution deploring the recent events in Kohat but it was eventually carried with an amendment also deploring the Gulbarga riots.

(8) Reducing the delegate's fee from Rs. 10 to Re. 1 as it was reported that the expense of attending the Congress was too heavy for the pockets of many of the delegates.

Hasrat Mohani put his resolution to the effect that the attainment of complete *Swaraj* for India should be the aim of the Congress. He failed to obtain any support to this. He then produced a resolution to the effect that the object of the Congress is the attainment of *Swaraj* within the Empire by all constitutional means. No decision was arrived at on this point.

A notable fact about this year's Congress has been the usurpation of the privileges and duties of the Subjects Committee (numbering about 130) by the Sub-Committee (numbering about 15). All the

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resolutions that have been placed by the Subjects Committee before the Congress are the work of this Sub-Committee. On several occasions when meetings of the Subjects Committee were due to take place the Sub-Committee met in its stead and conducted its deliberations. There is no doubt that the establishment of this Sub-Committee is a distinct move towards efficiency on the part of the Congress organisation. It is believed to be the work of Gandhi. He was of opinion that the Subjects Committee was too unwieldy for business-like discussion: not only that but secrecy was very difficult to ensure when the membership of this Committee was so large. The Sub-Committee used to meet in Gandhi's quarters. Although only 15 members were appointed to it, yet any leader who turned up at the quarters appeared to be entitled to take part in the discussions. In this way Vithalbhai J. Patel, who had declined a seat upon the Sub-Committee, has yet been taking part in the deliberations.

It may be said with truth that not only has the Sub-Committee overshadowed the Subject Committee but it has also completely dominated the Congress.

An instance of the autocratic conduct of the Sub-Committee is the following: —

The Sub-Committee had originally suggested to the Subjects Committee, a resolution on the subject of the Kohat disturbances. The latter committee turned it down. Nevertheless the Sub-Committee met again, made alterations in the resolution, inserted a clause regarding the Gulbarga disturbances, adopted other resolutions regarding national education, untouchability, etc., and had them all printed and circulated on the morning of December 26 as the work of the Subjects Committee. The general belief, shared apparently by the Press, is that the Sub-Committee was only appointed to consider the Pact and the Franchise resolution and then ceased to exist. As a matter of fact it continued to function throughout.

The proceedings of the 29th Indian National Congress commenced on the afternoon of December 26. Long before that time the main entrance was blocked with thousands of delegates and visitors. The control by the volunteers over the crowd completely disappeared. Although the crowd was on the whole orderly and good humoured, there was no doubt that the failure of the volunteers to make efficient arrangements caused a great deal of dissatisfaction. Gandhi was taken to the Pandal in procession. The Pandal was decorated with national flags, buntings, and photographs of national leaders: one of Tilak hung behind the presidential chair.

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After the singing of the Bande Mataram song, Gangadharrao B. Deshpande, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered a Kanarese version of his address of welcome, copies of which printed in English had already been distributed. His address contained nothing of note. Copies of Gandhi's presidential address had already been distributed. He then rose and spoke. He said that the Gandhi-Das Pact was going to be put before the House. It was for them to endorse it or to refuse it. He warned them that the change in the Congress constitution was a great one and one not lightly to be undertaken. If they accepted it they must give effect to it. He begged them not to consider his personality in the matter.

A half-minute silence was then observed as a token of reverence for the late Bi-Amman and other Congress workers who had passed away.

C. R. Das then spoke in favour of the Pact resolution. He urged them to accept it. He said that the resolution was one of unity. He had been a faithful servant of the Congress. He had never been a rebel. If he had fought against anybody, it was because he felt it to be his duty and all his efforts had been directed to make the Indian National Congress sound. No party could say to any other party "Stand outside the Congress". Every one had a right to remain within the Congress fold. Mahomed Ali then seconded the resolution. His speech did not break any new ground and was so long that Gandhi finally walked up to the rostrum as a gentle hint, which was taken.

Hasrat Mohani then opposed the resolution. He said he did not agree with the postponement of the non-co-operation or with the spinning franchise. He asked Gandhi if he really hoped to bring England to her knees by injuring the trade in foreign cloth.

Azad Sobhani also opposed the resolution.

S. V. Kowjalgi, N. C. Kelkar and Abhyankar then spoke in favour of it.

Motilal Nehru then rose and spoke in favour of the resolution and wound up the debate. He replied to the criticisms of Hasrat Mohani and Azad Sobhani and other opposers and asked both parties to close their ranks against the bureaucracy. The leaders of the two parties had endorsed the Pact: the rank and file should follow.

Gandhi then brought the proceedings to a close with a few words, and the resolution being put to the House was carried by a large majority.

The Subjects Committee resumed its discussions on the night of December 26. The following resolutions were put to the meeting for submission to the Congress:—

(1) Urging the use of local vernacular languages for Congress work.

(2) Recommending that a Congress Publicity Bureau in foreign countries be established. This was proposed by Satya Murti of Madras and failed by a narrow margin of 3 or 4 votes.

(3) Vithalbhai J. Patel put a resolution regarding the capture of Local Boards and Municipalities by Congressmen.

A resolution to the effect that funds for the maintenance of the dependents of political sufferers should be established was also discussed but the matter was not finally decided.

The Congress resumed its sitting on December 27. The following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

(4) Appreciation of the services rendered to the cause of the Indians overseas by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

(5) Sympathy with the people of Burma.

(6) Deploring the recent Hindu-Muslim riots in Kohat and Gulbarga.

A certain amount of friction arose over this resolution and Lala Lajpatrai was criticised by Zaffar Ali, editor of the *Zamindar*, who said that the Lala had not related the whole truth about the Kohat disturbances. Zaffar Ali was finally asked to stop as his speech was becoming distinctly anti-Hindu in tone.

(7) Urging the removal of untouchability.

(8) Expressing sympathy with the Akalis.

Nos. 9 and 10 on the subjects of national educational institutions and paid national service.

No 11 regarding the change in articles 11 and 23 of the Congress creed.

No. 12 regarding the drug and drink traffic carried on immorally by the Government of India.

The appointment of Jamnalal Bajaj as Treasurer, Shuaib Kureshi and B. F. Bharucha as Secretaries to the Congress were moved from the chair and carried unanimously.

During the proceedings Mrs. Besant arrived in the Pandal and was received with loud cheers. She spoke a few words opposing the Spinning Franchise. She said that she was prepared to spin

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but she knew that there were many Congressmen who regarded the new franchise with distrust. The Congress must be the Congress of all the political parties of the Nation. It must not be run on a narrow sectarian basis. She asked them earnestly to reconsider this important question.

Her speech was received with deep attention and with an entire absence of hostile comments.

Gandhi made a short speech replying to her criticisms and led her down from the rostrum, after which she took her departure.

It will be noticed that Hasrat Mohani's resolution defining the aim of the Congress policy was not put to the Congress.

It will also be noticed that the resolutions on the recent events in Egypt were also not considered.

It will be seen that the proceedings of the Congress itself were devoid of excitement. All the questions had really been decided beforehand by either the Sub-Committee or the Subjects Committee.

*Page 23, para. 42 (h)—*

*In Young India of January 1, General Remarks.*—Gandhi gives his impression of the Congress. He praises the arrangements made by Gangadharrao B. Deshpande but blames him for making the accommodation for leaders much too luxurious. He says that he hopes the Cawnpore Congress will be conducted on more simple and economical lines. He also says that in his opinion the charges for accommodation and food were much too heavy.

He praises the work of the volunteers and particularly those, mostly Brahmins, who were engaged in conservancy work in the Camp.

*Belgaum, December 27, 1924.*—The District Magistrate writes: "The Congress is going very peacefully so far as the maintenance of law and order is concerned. It is now in full swing, and I visited the grounds this forenoon with a lady, and bought some things at the stalls and from itinerant vendors. There was no sign of unfriendliness. The people nearly exhibited great interest in our purchases. I was inquiring in Marathi for the way to the Industrial Exhibition when an English-speaking Indian intervened and told us how to get to it. He then asked me if I was a missionary, and was decidedly surprised when I said I was the Collector (I had no attendant of any kind with me). "It is very good of you to come", he said.

"The proximity of the Congress has had no bad effect that I have seen or heard of on the manners of the people of Belgaum town and bazar towards Europeans."

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*Page 29, para. 59 (4)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 15.*—A public meeting attended by about 4,000 persons was held under the auspices of the Bhil Sewa Mandal at Dohad, Panch Mahals District, on January 2. Gandhi was present and with him were Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Abbas Tyabji, Waman Mukadam, Amritlal V. Thakkar, Mahadeo Haribhai and other leaders.

Gandhi advised the Bhils to follow the advice of their leader Amritlal. He asked them to give up drinking and to educate themselves. He also asked them to take up hand-spinning. He said that he was sorry to see so many of them present in foreign cloth.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel asked the audience if they had properly understood Gandhi's request. He asked how many of those present were willing to take up hand-spinning and to wear nothing but khaddar: about half the number present put up their hands.

The meeting then came to a close.

A meeting of about 2,000 persons was held at Godhra on January 3, and was addressed by Gandhi. He said he had nothing new to tell them but the fact that he was compelled to go from place to place delivering the same injunctions time after time showed that no progress had been made towards *Swaraj*. He said that he was still of opinion that *Swaraj* could only be obtained by hand-spinning, Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability.

His speech went on in the usual terms till its close.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel also spoke to the same effect and asked those who were willing to follow Gandhi's advice to hold up their hands: about half the number present did so. The meeting then came to close.

*Page 33, para. 66—*

*Bombay City, S. B., January 1.*—The All-India Muslim League met at the Globe Cinema, Sandhurst Road, on the 30th and 31st December 1924. The Honourable Mr. Sayad Reza Ali of Allahabad presided. M. K. Gandhi attended the meeting.

*Page 59, para. 144 (2)—*

*Ahmedabad, January 17.*—The Provincial Congress Committee met in their office-here on January 14th. M. K. Gandhi attended, who explained the working of the new franchise and asked all members present to enrol themselves as spinning members.

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*Page 61, para. 146 (2)—*

*Ahmedabad, January 17.*—The annual convocation of the Gujarat Vidyapith took place on the morning of January 14 at 8 a.m. M. K. Gandhi presided and about 500 persons were present. After distribution of degrees to graduates Gandhi gave his address. He took an optimistic view though really there was little ground for optimism, as from all reports the Vidyapith is not in a healthy position. He harped on the *charkha* and spinning. He opened the new buildings after closing his address. The ceremony ended at 11 a.m.

*Page 69, para. 170—*

*Kaira, January 24.*—M. K. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel and Mahadev Haribhai Desai arrived at Anand by special train on January 16 and proceeded to Bardoli the same day. About 100 persons headed by one Chimanlal Kirpashankar Dave came to the station to make their obeisance to M. K. Gandhi.

*Page 70, para. 173 (4)—*

*Surat, January 24.*—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel visited Surat, Bardoli, Varad, Sarbhon and Vedchi (in the Bardoli taluka). He arrived in the district on January 17 and left for Ahmedabad on the 19th. At Varad about 1,000 people collected to meet him, 300 women presented him with hand-spun yarn. After an informal talk with the leaders of the village, he advised the gathering to spin 2,000 yards of yarn, enrol themselves as Congress members, do away with untouchability, and amalgamate the private school with the national school. Through his intervention the two existing factions in the village made up their quarrel and promised to carry out his advice.

*Page 73, para. 177—*

*Surat, January 24.*—In the meeting at Surat on January 19, Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel and Dayalji Nanubhai Desai referring to the approaching election to the City Municipality advised the people to vote for those who would give effect to the constructive programme of the Maha Sabha. This timely advice was engineered by the non-co-operation candidates who are making frantic efforts to get into the Municipality.

*Page 77, para. 192—*

*Surat, January 24.*—Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel addressed large meetings at Bardoli and Sarbhon on January 17 and the Kaliparaj Conference on January 18. They spoke on the usual topics, viz., use of khaddar, the spinning-wheel, untouchability, temperance,



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elevation of the Kaliparaj people and Hindu-Muslim unity. At Vedchi, where 7,000 Kaliparaj people had gathered, Gandhi made an effective speech advocating temperance and the use of khaddar. All the people present took a solemn vow that they would abstain from drink and use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar. Resolutions were passed (1) requesting the Government of Baroda, Bansda and Dharampur to close liquor-shops within their respective territories and (2) dissuading the Kaliparaj women from wearing stone ornaments.

*Page 105, para. 266 (a)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 18.*—An article on life in Gandhi's Ashram written by Miss Angus and Miss Hindsley appears in *Young India* of February 12. Except for the intense enthusiasm of the writers for Gandhi and for spinning the article is unremarkable.

*Page 105, para. 266 (b)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 18.*—This issue also contains an open letter to Gandhi by a revolutionary who has given his name but not his address. Gandhi says: " It is a letter in reply to my remarks on the revolutionary movement in my address to the Belgaum Congress. The letter breathes love of the country, fervour and a spirit of self-sacrifice. It is moreover written under a sense of wrong said to have been done by me to the revolutionaries. I therefore gladly print the letter without the name."

The letter reproaches Gandhi for the failure of the non-co-operation campaign. He points out that thousands of young men embraced the non-co-operation cult with all the enthusiasm they could gather. Money was supplied in large quantities, in spite of the destitution of the country. Nevertheless the movement failed, but for no fault of the Indians. It is no use to reproach the people with violence or with cowardice. During the campaign the people were entirely nonviolent. The failure of the movement, the writer says, was due to the fact that it lacked a worthy ideal. The philosophy of nonviolence was a philosophy arising out of despair. It was an imperfect physical mixture of Tolstoyism and Buddhism. The non-violence that India preaches is not non-violence for the sake of non-violence but non-violence for the good of humanity, and when the good of humanity will demand violence and bloodshed, India will not hesitate to shed blood just in the same way as a surgical operation necessitates the shedding of blood. To an ideal Indian, violence or non-violence has the same significance provided they ultimately do good to humanity.



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The writer goes on to say that it is useless to hope that England will be just or generous. Gandhi's idea of remaining within the British Empire is one of the many Himalayan miscalculations which he has repeatedly committed. The writer then proceeds to show how much the revolutionaries have done for India in the direction of political reform. "You may not care for your own lives, but you dare not disregard those of your countrymen who have no desire to die a martyr's death." But the revolutionaries are at a sad loss to understand the meaning of this sentence. Do you mean to say that the revolutionaries are responsible for the deaths of 70 men who were condemned in the Chauri Chaura trial? Do you mean to say that the revolutionaries are responsible for the bombing and killing of innocent people at Jallianwalla Bagh and Gujranwalla? Did the revolutionaries during their struggle for the last twenty years, in the past or in the present, ever ask the starving millions to take part in the revolutionary struggle? The revolutionaries have perhaps a better knowledge of the mass psychology than most of the present leaders. And this was the reason that they never wanted to deal with the masses until they became sure of their own strength. They always believed that the masses of Northern India were ready for any emergency and they were also right in thinking the Northern India masses as a dense mass of high explosive, dangerous to be handled carelessly. It was you and your lieutenants who misjudged the sentiment of the masses and dragged them into the *Satyagraha* movement, people who were groaning under a thousand oppressions from within and without, where the lightning of anger laid unperceived, and you had to pay the penalty for it. But can you give any instance where the revolutionaries dragged unwilling souls into the valley of death?

The writer criticises and condemns the reiteration of the statement that the British Empire is so much stronger and better organised than the Indian people. It is this feeling of helplessness that has led to the adoption of the futile non-violent campaign.

Gandhi in his answer to the writer admits that there was a wonderful response to his call but states that the observance of non-violence was far below the required standard. He points out that revolution cannot succeed in India whatever may be true of other countries although he does not deny the revolutionaries' heroism and sacrifice. Finally he calls the attention of the revolutionaries to the three great hindrances to *Swaraj*: the incomplete spread of the spinning-wheel, the discord between Hindus and Mahomedans and the inhuman ban upon the suppressed classes.

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*Page 111, para. 275—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 26.*—A Public meeting was held at Virsad, Borsad Taluka, Kaira District, on February 12. About 2,000 persons were present. Amongst the leading persons present were Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai, Mahadeo Haribhai Desai, M. K. Pandya and Ravishanker of Sarsavni. The address was read out by Chaturbhai Jhaverbhai Amin and presented to Gandhi in a silver casket. The guest of the evening was then garlanded and offers of sweets and fruits were made to him, which he distributed amongst the untouchables. Gandhi said that he had come to Virsad in order to be present at the marriage of Vallabhbhai's son but that it had now been decided to have a simple marriage ceremony performed by himself at the Ashram at Ahmedabad. Gandhi said that this innovation was in order to give a lead to the Patidar community in the matter of the reduction of marriage expenses. He then went on to a discussion on the spinning-wheel, which he delivered in his usual manner. He was sorry to see the untouchables accommodated behind the platform. He would have been glad to have seen them in front. He said that he hoped that after his second birth he would be born again as an untouchable himself. He said that it was not good of the Patidars to give him an address when they were disregarding his injunctions in respect of the untouchables. Vallabhbhai, who followed, stated that the presentation of an address to Gandhi by the people of Virsad was hypocrisy. He said that he preferred the outspokenness of the people of Sunav who clearly said that they did not want Gandhi there because they did not believe in the removal of untouchability.

At the Borsad meeting (Kaira District) held on February 11, about 1,500 persons were present, amongst the leaders being Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai and Mahadeo Haribhai Desai. Gandhi congratulated the people of Borsad on their successful *Satyagraha*. He said he had asked Desai about the use of khaddar and spinning-wheel in the Borsad taluka and that Desai had admitted that no progress had been made. He was sorry to see so many people in mill-made clothes at the meeting. All his hopes with regard to Borsad taluka had been frustrated. He said the apparent success of the *Satyagraha* movement in Borsad was not explained.

" Why do not the males and females of this place not use pure khaddar when they had apparently achieved success in the *Satyagraha* ? Because the workers of the *Satyagraha* movement did not belong to Borsad but were outsiders." He was sorry to hear that the organisers of the national schools were now thinking of amalgamating these schools with Government institutions.

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Vallabhbhai followed Gandhi and rebuked the people of Borsad for letting him down after the efforts he had made on their behalf. He had not worked merely to save them a few rupees. He had worked to improve their moral and social position.

*Page 128, para. 318—*

*Kaira, February 21.*—The following meetings were addressed by M. K. Gandhi while on tour in this District. He was accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Mahadev Haribhai Desai: At Virsad on February 12, audience 2,000 at Palej on February 13, audience 700; at Sunav on February 13, audience 700; at Napha on February 13, audience 500 ; and at Nadiad on February 13.

Gandhi took his usual themes—untouchability, khaddar Hindu-Muslim unity and spinning—as the subject for all his lectures. Without khaddar and the spinning wheel, he said, Home Rule would not become an accomplished fact. It was a crime against humanity and a gross moral evil to look down on and to oppress the untouchable classes. He was not an advocate between untouchables and other caste Hindus, but what he earnestly wished to see was a radical change in the condition of the untouchable classes. He himself had cleaned latrines and was proud of having done so. To be consistent, the caste Hindus should make him suffer social ostracism along with this untouchable brothers. The two qualities which India needed most now-a-days were fearlessness and the spirit to organise.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel re-echoed his chief's sentiments. He rebuked Patidars for treating the untouchables with contumely, which drove them to forsake the Hindu religion and to embrace Christianity. When Hindus touched dogs and cattle, it was a sin for them to refuse to associate with the untouchable classes.

*N.B.*—After the Sunav meeting Gandhi was presented with 6,100 yarlds of yarn. The party returned to Ahmedabad on February 13.

*Page 145, para. 360—*

*Kaira, February 20.*—The District Magistrate writes: " On the 11th Gandhi, Vallabhbhai and Mahadev Haribhai Desai halted at Vasad *en-route* for Borsad. They were received by Durbar Gopaldas. Gandhi addressed an audience of about 400 men and 50 women outside the station. His subject, were spinning, Hindu-Muslim unity and untouchability. At the close he asked those who were practising spinning to hold up their hands. Only two men and four women responded. Similarly only four held up hands to claim membership of the Mahasabha. Gandhi professed himself disappointed. The party then motored to Borsad, where results will be reported next week."

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*Ibid, February 24.*—The District Magistrate writes: "Gandhi and his party visited Anklar, Borsad, Has, Virsad and other villages. The meetings were attended by audience varying from 100 to 800. The points urged were cotton spinning and weaving, temperance, Hindu Mahommedan unity, removal of untouchability, and abstinence from crime. The failure of females among their audiences to wear khaddar drew forth some special comments from the speakers.

"The campaign for removal of untouchability has not made much headway and most people refuse to take it up. Generally Gandhi's tour left things much as they were, and no new propaganda was brought forward."

*Page 155, para. 394—*

*Ahmedabad, March 7.*—M. K. Gandhi who had been to Delhi returned on the morning of March 4 and left for Bombay *en-route* to Vaikon the same night.

*Page, 168, para. 440—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 24.*—An informant states that Gandhi has gradually arrived at the belief that he stands for nothing in Indian politics to-day. He has therefore written to N. C. Kelkar that the Swaraj Party should now take over the management of the Congress and conduct it on their own lines as he (Gandhi) proposes to retire for ever from politics.

N. C. Kelkar, it is said, is willing to run the Congress on behalf of the Swaraj Party but he does not want the Congress without Gandhi. If the latter will consent to remain in the Congress under its new masters he will be allowed to hold himself aloof from all Congress activities in respect of the Assembly and the Councils.

*Page 196, para. 509—*

*March 27.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Madras on the morning of March 26. In the afternoon he addressed a meeting of about 200 women held at the Khaddar and Swadeshi Exhibition and appealed to them to take to khaddar and the spinning wheel in right earnest. He then addressed the meeting of the depressed classes who presented him with an address under the leadership of Narayen Dhanaji Bhonsle. He told them that he hoped that the course of untouchability would disappear in course of time and admonished them to refrain from drink. He then presented gold and silver medals to those who were successful in the spinning competition held in the Exhibition Mandap. The Congress House was then formally opened by him before a gathering of about 400 people by hoisting the national flag. Prayers showering blessings

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on the Congress House were offered by a Parsi priest, a Maulvi, an Indian Christian minister, a Sikh and a Sanatanist. He made a short speech in Gujarati explaining the unique occasion of opening the Congress House and the significance of maintaining at the cost of one's life the prestige of the national flag that was hoisted. He advised the people to regard the flag as an embodiment of all that they cherished and honoured just as Englishmen did. He left for Ahmedabad the same night.

*Page 206, para. 549 (1)—*

*Ahmedabad, April 4.*—M. K. Gandhi left here for Botad (Kathiawar) on April 1. He took Ranpur on his way on April 2, where he was presented with an address by the Ranpur Municipality. The address read by Vithaldas Maganlal and was presented in a silver box by the Municipal President, Nagarseth. Afterwards Amritlal Dalpatbhai of Saurashtra presented him with 54 maunds of cotton collected from merchants. He discussed the opening of a school for the depressed classes and had conversation with one Mussabhai Karshan, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. Gandhi was not best pleased with the attitude displayed in these parts towards the untouchables. I hear Gandhi did not receive the welcome he expected at Botad. He did not stay there long—but returned to Ranpur.

*Page 211, para. 558—*

*April 16.*—*Young India* of April 9 contains more correspondence between Gandhi and his revolutionary friend. The correspondent asks Gandhi to produce the names of any Swarajists, Moderates or Nationalist, who like the Revolutionaries have sacrificed their lives for their country. Gandhi answers Gokhale and Tilak. "There is no necessary charm about death on the gallows: often such death is easier than a life of drudgery and toil in malarious tracts." Further on the revolutionary says, "We (the revolutionary party) are entering villages and have been successful everywhere. Can you not believe that they, the sons of Shivaji, Pratap and Ranjit, can appreciate our sentiments with more readiness and depth than anything else? Don't you think that armed and conspired resistance against something satanic and ignoble is infinitely more befitting for any nation, especially Indian, than the prevalence of effortlessness and philosophical cowardice? I mean the cowardice which is pervading the length and breadth of India owing to the preaching of your theory of non-violence or more correctly the wrong interpretation and misuse of it. Non-violence is not the theory of the weak and helpless, it is the theory of the strong. We want to produce such men in India, who will not shrink from death whenever it may come and in whatever form—will do the good and

die. This is the spirit with which we are entering the villages. We are not entering the villages to exhort votes for councils and district boards, but our object is to secure co-martyrs for the country who will die and a stone will not tell where his poor corpse lies. Do you believe like Mazzini that ideas ripen quickly, when nourished by the blood of martyrs ?"

Gandhi replies that if the revolutionaries succeed in attracting, not dragging, the masses to them they will find the murderous campaign totally unnecessary. He also says that it is incorrect to speak of the masses of India being the descendants of Shivaji, Ranjit, Pratap and Govind Sing.

Called upon by his correspondent to admire De Valera, Kamal Pasha, Lenin and other revolutionaries, Gandhi replies that though many of his adherents do admire these patriots yet "they realise with me that India is not like Turkey or Ireland or Russia and that revolutionary activity is suicidal at this stage of the country's life at any rate, if not for all time in a country so vast, so hopelessly divided and with the masses so deeply sunk in pauperism and so fearfully terror-struck".

With regard to the above correspondence the following remarks are made by an officer of this Department, to whom the view had been expressed, that "the revolutionary" was probably a Bengali: —

The use made of Sanskrit quotations in the last letter, viz., "Vinashaya cha Dushkritam", "Vinasha of Duskritas" and "Nishkama Karma" seem to show that the revolutionary is not a Bengali, for Bengalis never say "Vinasha" but use "Binash" instead. Only inhabitants of Maharashtra and perhaps of Gujarat use the word "Vinasha". Moreover the use of the above quotations shows that "the Revolutionary" has studied the "Geeta-Rahasya" of Tilak and is a disciple of the late Tilak. Similarly the reference to Shivaji, Pratap, Ranjit and Guru Govind (a follower of Ramdas) and none else tends to show that the writer is a man who-loves Maharashtra and Shivaji and Ramdas. Rana Pratap belonged to Rajputana, from which Province the ancestors of Shivaji came down to the Deccan. The sentence "we are not entering the villages to extort votes for councils and district boards" may perhaps show that he hails from Maharashtra, Gujarat or the Central Provinces where there has recently been a campaign on account of the Local Board elections. Moreover the reference made by Gandhi in his reply "to obliterate caste" may perhaps be due to his having before him Maharashtra and Gujarat, where caste differences are acute. So also the want of leaders felt by "the Revolutionary" may lead one to infer that he is someone from here as there is no such want in Bengal.



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*Page 221, para. 576—*

*Bombay City, S. B., April 14.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from his Kathiawar tour on the morning of April 11. In the interviews that he gave to the press and to those who called on him he made it clear that he had no new policy or new programme to place before the country. At a public meeting held on April 13 in celebration of the last day of the National Week he once more emphasised the need of carrying out his three-fold programme of Hindu-Muslim unity, untouchability and Khaddar, without which he said *Swaraj* was impossible.

He proceeds to Bengal on May 1.

*Page 232, para. 612 (6)—*

*Bombay City, S. B., April 14.*—The "National Week" passed without any occurrence of political importance in the city. On the last day, April 13, about half a dozen volunteers hawked khaddar in the morning and a public meeting was held at the Congress House in the evening. About a thousand people attended and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Vithalbai J. Patel, K. P. Khadilkar, Shaukat Ali and M. K. Gandhi made speeches.

Vithalbai J. Patel made a lengthy speech in Gujarati giving an account of the agitation that was carried on in 1919 and deploring the present state of political lethargy and wrangling between parties. Unless the people had a fighting programme and unless they were prepared for direct action to fight the common enemy, it was impossible to foresee any good for India. He condemned the spinning franchise introduced by Gandhi and suggested that the Congress programme should be revised by convening, if necessary, an All-India Congress Committee meeting.

K. P. Khadilkar said that it was the practice of the bureaucracy, whether in India, Egypt or elsewhere, to substitute a fresh repressive measure for any that might be withdrawn just as they had the Bengal Ordinance in lieu of the Rowlatt Act. The Government would always revert to its old mentality. Unlike V. J. Patel he advocated strict adherence to the Congress programme.

Shaukat Ali made a rambling speech as usual in the course of which he said that the disease from which India was suffering was cowardice. Until they were prepared to sacrifice their lives and property, it was futile for them to think of achieving *Swaraj*. Personally speaking, so long as the bureaucracy continued its present policy, he was content to remain an outlaw. He would do his utmost to destroy the bureaucracy and challenged it to do its worst to him.

M. K. Gandhi replied to V. J. Patel's criticism of the spinning franchise and once more emphasised that in his own opinion without the three-fold programme (of Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and khaddar) it was impossible to achieve *Swaraj*. He was always ready to resort to *Satyagraha* at any time if he believed that the people were prepared for it, but he knew well that the country was not ready at present. Real *Satyagraha* required insistence on truth and *Ahimsa* (peace) and these were essentials in the fight for freedom. He would always prefer a small number of real *Satyagrahis* to a large number of *Duragrahis*. He finally appealed to the people to carry out his programme if they sincerely believed in it.

Page 233, para. 612-A—

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, April 30.*—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Bai Vasumati and Laxmandas Purshottamdas made a tour in the Broach District on April 17 and 18.

The list below shows the places visited, the numbers present and the amounts collected at each place:—

Place.	Persons.	
Ankleshwar	700—800	Rs.19 and some cotton.
Sajod	100—150	„ 335 and some cotton.
Nikora	700	„ 350 and some cotton.
Shukaltirth	1,000	„ 1,090 and some cotton.
Tavra	105	„ 76
Zadeshwar	200	„ 720.
Samni	900	„ 868.
Amod	800	„ 700 This amount is Irrespective of Rs. 500 donated by the Thakore Saheb and Honorary First Class Magistrate, Amod.
Kherwada	500—600	„ 900 This amount includes Rs. 500 gien by the Thakore Saheb and Honorary First Class Magistrate of Kherwada.
Jambusar	1,000 of which about 25 were Mahomme- dans.	„ 436.

*Note.*—At Jambusar the Municipality presented an address to Gandhi.

Wagra 375 Rs. 85.



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*Broach City.*—The District Local Board presented an address. The attendance at this function amounted to about 150. At the evening meeting held near the Victoria Memorial Clock Tower the attendance was between 1,500-2,000. The collection amounted to Rs. 359.

At these meetings Gandhi spoke on the usual lines on spinning, Hindu-Muslim unity and the removal of untouchability.

The general impression of the tour is that enthusiasm for the Mahatma is very much on the wane, which is hardly surprising considering the great lack of novelty there is about his speeches.

At the Ankleshwar meeting Gandhi said his prescription with regard to Hindu-Muslim unity had not been accepted by either party. He and Shaukat Ali were therefore of opinion that if the two communities were determined to fight " let them do so ", even after such a combat they still had need of one another. He expressed his disappointment with the Ankleshwar people at their lack of enthusiasm for khaddar.

At Jambusar a very large proportion of the audience consisted of school boys.

Gandhi took the Municipality to task for not having mentioned the untouchability question in their address to him. At Broach he deplored the change that had come over the place since 1921.

*Page 234, para. 612-B—*

*Surat, April 18.*—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, Mahadev Haribhai Desai, and Dayalji Nanubhai Desai toured in the Jalalpur and Bardoli talukas of this District on April 15 and 16. He visited and addressed public meetings at the following places:—

Karadi, Jalalpur taluka on April 15; attendance 1,000 ; speakers Gandhi and Patel.

Amalsad, Jalalpur taluka; April 15 ; attendance 1,000 ; speakers Gandhi and Nichhabhai Gulabhai of Amalsad.

Munsad, Jalalpur taluka on April 16 ; attendance 500 ; speaker Gandhi.

Sisodra, Jalalpur taluka on April 16 ; attendance 300 ; speaker Gandhi.

Kaliawadi; Jalalpur taluka on April 16 ; attendance 200.

The theme of his discussions at all these meetings was the spread of khaddar, temperance, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability. He appealed to the people to take to khaddar and spinning in right earnest, to abstain from drink, to be tolerant to Mahommedans and to work for the uplift of the untouchables. At Karadi, the people of Karadi and Matwad presented a purse of Rs. 651, which Gandhi made over to the local workers for use in propagating khaddar. At Mansad he advised the people to maintain the National Schools and not to transfer them to Government control. At Kaliawadi, where the meeting consisted exclusively of the Kaliparaj women, he explained the meaning of *Swaraj* as the rule of Ram and said *Swaraj* would be attained if all women were as clean in body and mind as Sita. He said that under the Government of Ram there was no theft, no debauchery, no mill-made cloth and no drink. Only when the former conditions are restored will there be *Ramraj* or *Swaraj*.

On April 16, Gandhi paid a flying visit to the Gurukul at Supa, in Bardoli taluka, where about 500 men and women had collected for darshan. He advised the students of the gurukul to observe *brahmacharya* (celibacy) and to clean their own latrines. He asked the managers of the institution to admit the untouchable boys.

On April 9, a meeting of 200 persons was convened at Siker, in Bardoli taluka, to present an address to Kallianji Vithalbai Mehta of Surat. In reply, the latter said that if they wanted *Swaraj* they must act according to M. K. Gandhi's programme.

Page 252, para. 640—

*Surat, April 25.*—M. K. Gandhi and Asudamal Tekchand Gidwani arrived at Tithal in Bular Taluka from Ahmedabad on April 23.

The District Magistrate remarks:—" M. K. Gandhi was at Tithal till April 28, staying at Bhulabhai Desai's Bungalow ".

Page 270, para. 694—

*Bombay City, S. B., April 29.*—At the Cow Protection Conference held at Belgaum in December 1924, a Committee was appointed to frame a constitution for the founding of a permanent All-India Cow-Protection organisation. This Committee met at Delhi on January 24, 1925, and accepted a draft constitution for the All-India Cow-Protection Mandal prepared by M. K. Gandhi for submission to a meeting of the general public.

A meeting of the general public for the purpose of considering and adopting the above mentioned constitution was held at Madhav Baugh at 8' p.m. on April 28, under the presidency of M. K. Gandhi, who arrived in Bombay that morning on his way to Calcutta. About

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4,000 people attended the meeting. Prominent persons present were Shaukat Ali, the Honourable Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, Dr. B. S. Munje, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Chaunde Buwa, Mahadeo H. Desai, Radhakant Malaviya and Ramanujacharya, the preceptor of the Vaishnavas.

The proceedings commenced with prayers and songs in praise of cow-worship and with the blessings from Shri Ramanujacharya who emphasised that the question of cow-protection did not involve any differences of opinion in the four classes of the Hindus.

Chaunde Buwa appealed for the support of both Hindus and Mahommedans in protection of cows.

M. K. Gandhi said that he was diffident in taking up this question as it required a good deal of self-restraint. He was alive to his own failings but he was very anxious to serve the cow, a dumb and helpless creature. Nowhere in the world was the cow worse off than in India and no one but the Hindus treated her badly. If the Hindus realised their responsibilities towards the cow, they would not be required to be told of the importance of cow-protection. It was no use blaming Mahommedans and the Englishmen on the cow-question as the Hindus had neglected their own duties. When the cow ceased to give milk, she was sold to the shoe-makers which was very reprehensible. He then laid stress on having dairy-farms and tannery works and asked the people to devise means to stop the export of hides. He criticised the conduct of those Hindus who did not object to using extracts of beef when recommended by doctors. He then put before the meeting and explained the following draft constitution :—

"As cow-protection is one of the important duties upon the Hindus as a part of their religion and as through carelessness the race of the cow is becoming weaker and weaker and as the extent of cow-slaughter is increasing daily, this meeting establishes an institute Akhil Bharatiya Goraksha Mandal by name to work for cow-protection in the right direction and with a religious view.

#### **AKHIL BHARATIYA GORAKSHA MANDAL.**

" The object of this Mandal is to work for the cow-protection in all religious ways.

"The word cow-protection means, to protect the cow and her progeny from slaughter and cruel treatment.

*N.B.*—It is against the object of this Mandal to coerce any other community whose religion does not specially prevent or encourage cow-slaughter.

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**MEANS.**

" This Mandal will achieve its object by using the following means :—

(1) To induce all through love, to stop the cruelty practised upon animals such as the cow and her progeny and so to protect them. To win over the readers by means of written articles. To send volunteers to work for cow-protection. To induce people to protect the cow, by means of speeches.

(2) To emancipate weak and sick cows and bullocks from their owners, in case they do not get sufficient food or in case their owner is unable to feed them.

(3) To examine the institutes such as the cow-houses and the Pinjrapoles, to help the managers in the managements of such institutions and to establish new institutions where they do not exist.

(4) To propagate typical breeds of the cow with the help of cow-houses and Pinjrapoles or otherwise.

(5) To appoint shoe-makers to skin the dead animals to stop the export of the skin of the dead animals.

(6) To prepare expert cow-protection propagandists by specially instructed voluntary workers.

(7) To investigate the causes of the deterioration of our pasture lands and to attempt to reclaim them.

(8) To investigate into the necessity or otherwise of castrating the bullocks. If it is found, to reform, the method of castration.

(9) To collect funds for the work of the Mandal.

(10) To use all such means as are necessary to ensure cow-protection."

Shaukat Ali and Dr. Munje were then asked to say a few words. Shaukat Ali asked the audience to work for *Swaraj* which would automatically solve the question of cow-protection and assured the people of the support of the Mahommedans. Dr. Munje pointed out that it was not the Mahommedans that made use of the beef on a large scale but that it was the British troops that needed consumption of beef in large quantities in and out of India. He therefore suggested that they should discourage and stop the export of cattle.

Gandhi then asked the people to give their consent to the constitution put before them by show of hands. All, it is reported, except

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four voted in favour of the constitution and the proceedings terminated.

*Page 272, para. 699—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 14.*—In *Young India* of May 7 Gandhi gives a distressing description of the changes which he experienced on his journey to Calcutta. " The discarding of khaddar was most noticeable (in the Central Provinces). Instead of a forest of white khaddar caps, I see everywhere the provoking black foreign caps on almost every head. I am witnessing all along the route a striking demonstration of the fact. The demonstration of the painful truth became complete at Nagpur—the centre that reaffirmed the Calcutta resolution of non-violent, non-co-operation. There was a vast crowd at the station. The Congress officials had even arranged a meeting just outside the station. The hot sun was beating overhead. The din was terrific. Nobody heard anybody, much less listened to anybody. There were volunteers but there was no discipline. No way was kept for me to pass through. I insisted on a way being made if I was to go to the meeting-place during the half hour that the train was to stop at the station. The way was made with difficulty. I waded through it in the best manner I could. It took me over five minutes to reach the platform. Without the crowd pressing from all sides I could have reached it in half a minute. I took no more than one minute to deliver my message. It took me longer to return to the train than it took to reach the platform, for the crowd had now lost its head completely. The intoxication of affection was now at its height. The shouts of ".....ki jai" rent the sky. I was ill able to bear the din and dust and the suffocation....."

At last I got a hearing. I demanded the black caps. The response was instantaneous but not generous. From that vast crowd I do not think more than one hundred caps were thrown, four of which were thrown not by the owners. They were claimed and promptly returned."

*Page 297, para. 753—*

*May 2nd.*—M. K. Gandhi addressed a meeting in Bulsar on April 26 exhorting the people to carry out his three-fold programme of unity, untouchability and khaddar. He deplored the fall in the Congress membership in Bulsar and elsewhere, and advised the audience to be up and doing. While at Tithal, Gandhi visited the houses of the Dheds and advised them to give up drink, to live by labour, and to wear Khaddar.

Gandhi left Tithal for Bombay on April 27.

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*Page 356, para. 908—*

S. B., *Bombay Presidency, Poona, June 24.*—*Young India* of June 18 contains an article from Gandhi in which he refuses to retire from politics at the request of Ramrao Deshmukh. " I believe with Maulana Mohamed Ali that a public man may not give up his trust so long as he believes in it. He must be relieved of it. He said that if I retired prematurely I would be putting an undue strain upon political opponents and on the country. I must cease to be popular before I could retire in spite of confidence in my message. And even then it often becomes a point of extreme delicacy to decide between persistence and withdrawal. The fact is, retirement at the bidding of another from service voluntarily taken up is not so simple as it may appear. But Mr. Deshmukh has courageously paved the way for the public to think out the question. Those who would have me to leave the field should at least create public opinion against my methods and views which they regard as unsound.

In the course of the article he discusses the public appeal made to him by B. F. Bharucha to call for an all parties conference again. "Personally I think that we are not more ready to-day for coming together than we were in Delhi".

*Page 413, para. 1048 (2)—*

S. B., *Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 24.*—From the *Mahratta* of July 19 on the subject of the Calcutta meeting of the General Council of the All-India Swaraj Party:—

"A. Rangaswamy Iyengar was elected General Secretary of the Party in the place of Panditji, on the motion of N. C. Kelkar. Vithalbai J. Patel then proposed the name of Pandit Motilal Nehru for the presidentship of the Swaraj Party in the place of Deshbandhu Das. Sen Gupta seconded and Panditji was unanimously elected President."

Shrinivas Iyengar proposed the following resolution on Lord Birkenhead's speech which was unanimously accepted after some discussion :—

"This meeting of the General Council of the All-India Swaraj Party wholly endorses the sentiments regarding violence and the strong condemnation thereof and the offer of honourable co-operation with the Government and the conditions thereof laid down in the Faridpur speech, dated the 2nd May 1925, of the late President of the Party, Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. The Council, however regrets that the recent pronouncement of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords is not only no response to

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the late President's offer but, on the contrary, is calculated by reason of its tone and language to make the chances of honourable co-operation difficult, if not impossible. The Council, therefore, sees in that pronouncement no reason for a revision of the policy of the Swaraj Party, but will be prepared to reconsider it if the final declaration to be made by the Government of India and referred to by Lord Birkenhead is found to be at all adequate to meet the requirements of the existing situation in the country."

"On July 17 an informal Conference was called by the leader of the Calcutta Independent Party, Mr. Byomkesh Chakravarti, where the politics of the Swarajists and the Independents were discussed in a friendly spirit which betokens an advance in reunion. Mr. Gandhi disclosed his intention of restoring the Congress to political programme through the Swaraj Party which would dominate the Congress hereafter as the one national political lever and that a spinners' association would be formed within the Congress as its integral part with Mr. Gandhi himself as the master spinner.

It was resolved unanimously at his suggestion that the yarn-franchise should be made only as an alternative to money-franchise and a sub-committee consisting of Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, N. C. Kelkar and Shrinivas Iyengar was appointed to settle the details of the new arrangement. It was, however, decided by majority to keep intact the condition of wearing khaddar. Maharashtra Party insisted that this should be embodied only in a Congress resolution. Perfect peace and unity prevailed as Mr. Gandhi himself admitted the necessity of changing the franchise and restoring the Congress back to direct politics.

The All-India Congress Committee is to meet in Bombay in October."

It is learnt that Gandhi was very roughly handled by N. C. Kelkar at Calcutta. Kelkar told the Mahatma that his methods were doing more harm than anything that was being done by Government, and that if Gandhi did not mend his ways the Swarajists would be compelled to devote their attention first to crushing him in order to prevent his open and clandestine efforts to widen the gulf between the Swarajists and the Congress. They were prepared to tolerate him as a master spinner only if he kept the *charkha* out of the sphere of Congress politics.

Gandhi in reply threatened to retire from the Congress, and somewhat to his annoyance, this threat did not produce any alarm or despondency amongst the Swarajists present.



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*Page 436, para. 1097—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, July 29.*—It is learnt that Gandhi has issued a circular letter to all the Kattar leader admitting that the Non-co-operation Movement has failed, and that he was therefore going to assist the Swarajists whole-heartedly in their work. It was, therefore, his desire that all non-co-operators should also similarly assist the Swarajists. If conscience came in their way they should remain perfectly neutral.

*Page 439, para. 1110—*

*Sind C. I. D., July 18.*—In its *Leader* of July 20, 1925, entitled the "Mahatmaji's surrender", the *Sind Observer*, commenting upon Gandhi's note to Pandit Motilal Nehru asking the latter to assume the presidentship of the Congress working Committee, says that Gandhi has taken this step not with a view to embarrass but to assist the Swarajists to bring unity in the Congress and to make it the most powerful political organisation in the country.

Continuing the paper adds that the idea seems to be that the Swarajists may attain in the 1926 elections the same unchallenged pre-eminence in the Legislature as did the Sinn Feiners in all the local bodies in Ireland and in the Parliament at Westminster before the free State finally came into being.

The paper also advises a settlement in respect of communal representation and a share in the public services for the Musalmans in order to attract a greater number of them to the Congress to support its Council programme.

The *Leader* concludes with the following:—

"In view of the attitude of the present British Government and the speeches of Lord Birkenhead, Mahatmaji has no option but to combine the Congress forces. That is his answer to White Hall. Lord Birkenhead threw in his speech some baits to the Liberals and the Independents for their support in the existing Councils Mahatmaji possibly counts upon their going over to the Government side on most occasions. He is therefore forming a solid Congress party under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. His field in economic regeneration by spinning and khaddar which to him is even more important than Congress unity. We will again say that, whatever the future may bring, it is an act of consummate statesmanship on the part of the Mahatma."



*Page 535, para. 1339—*

*September 10.*—The following is a cutting from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated August 28, Kundingar, 1925.—

Iginio Gibelli and Antony  
Kundingar.

### MESSAGE TO THE WORLD.

(Italian Journalists' Request to Mahatma).

Calcutta, August 25.

Signor Iginio Gibelli and Herr Antony Kundingar who are touring the world on bicycles have arrived here and called on Mr. Gandhi on Monday. They tried to get Mr. Gandhi to give a message from India to the world in their autograph book, but Mr. Gandhi was not prepared for it. As Monday is observed by Mr. Gandhi as the day of silence he wrote as follows :—

"If you will please come some other time when I am speaking I shall talk to you and then decide whether to give you something in your book or not. I admire your zeal. I doubt its wisdom. You will not have me to give you something for mere form " Being asked if he did not think it wise to write a message from India to the world Mr. Gandhi wrote: " I want the whole world to know all about my country. You are most welcome so far as your visit is concerned."—A. P.

*Page 556 para. 1292(1) (2)—*

*Ahmedabad, September 5.*—M. K. Gandhi with Mahadeo H. Desai and Kasandas Satischandra Mukherji, arrived here from Bombay on September 5. They were met by Vallabhbai Patel, S. G. Banker, Anusuyabai and K. J. Zaveri and eight or ten Khojas.

2. *East Khandesh, September 5.*—Gandhi passed through the District on the night of September 2nd by train. He is reported to be touring this District in November.

*Page 562 para. 1403(2)—*

*Bombay City S. B., September 5.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay by Calcutta Mail on the morning of September 3 and stayed as usual at Gamdevi. In the evening he attended a performance entitled "Shur Abala" organised by the girls of the Tilak Girls School under the guidance of the Principal, Miss Krishnabai Tulaskar. About Rs. 500 were realized by the sale of tickets. Gandhi appealed to the audience to support the institution.

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On the evening of September 4 he presided over a public meeting held at Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall to celebrate the birth centenary of Dadabhai Naoroji. The hall was packed—about 2,500 people of all castes having assembled. The meeting was representative of some forty-three associations of Bombay—political and social. Speeches were made by Mr. J. E. Needham, Rao Bahadur D. G. Padhye, K. M. Munshi, H. P. Mody, Mirza Ali Mohamed Khan, M. R. Jayakar, M. D. Altekar, M. C. Chagla, J. J. Vimadalal, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Shaukat Ali. Almost all the speakers paid a tribute to the memory of Dadabhai Naoroji in the most eulogistic terms and appealed to the people to emulate his example. Gandhi made a short speech in Gujarati narrating his personal recollections of Dadabhai Naoroji and appealing to the audience to act up to the principles laid down by Dababhai for the general uplift of their countrymen.

Gandhi left Bombay for Ahmedabad the same night.

*Page 568, para. 1426—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, September 17.*—Mahatma Gandhi was present at the annual meeting of about 8,000 labourers in the River Bed outside Ahmedabad City September 6. Gulzarilal Nanda read out a summary of the report of the work of the Labour Union done in the past year. He said that number of members at the beginning of the year in question was 12,000, half of what was in the year 1922-23. To-day the number had increased to 14,000. 70 meetings were held during the year. One hospital and two dispensaries are being conducted by the Union and Union also lends money to members at a low rate of interest. A savings bank is also maintained. 11 day and 15 night schools are kept up.

Gandhi made a few colourless remarks. His advice amongst other good advice was not to live beyond their income and above all not to borrow from banias.

The following remarks come strangely from the mouth of the so-called leaders, leaders of the masses:—

" Your wages are reduced and you want to get your former wages. I wish that you may get even more, but you know, that the condition of mill industry to-day is not good and it is a question whether some of the mills will even stand this crisis. I say that you are not only a labourer of the mill but you are also responsible for the existence of the mill. It is your duty that at the time when the financial condition of the mill is not good, you cannot expect higher wages.

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I can even think of time when a faithful servant would tell his master that he is prepared to work without any wages in the time of difficulty, but he would not allow the mill to be closed."

*Page 574, para. 1444—*

*Bombay City, S. B., September 10.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad on the morning of September 10 and left the same afternoon for his tour in Bihar and Orissa.

*Para. 1445—*

*Ahmedabad, September 12.*—The working committee of the Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad held its meeting at the Ashram under M. K. Gandhi's presidentship on September 6. It was resolved to spend Rs. 84,000 on khaddar propoganda, and Rs, 5,000 a year for three years and to open 25 Ideal Schools for depressed classes.

*Page 581, para. 1464—*

" Ganesh Utsav " or " the Sarvajanic Ganpati Festival."

*From the Bengal Secret Abstract, dated September 12, 1925. Calcutta Police, Special Branch, September 9.*—The Sarvajanic Ganapati Utsav was first inaugurated by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

On the 30th idem, (August) Mr. Gandhi attended the festival and gave a sermon on his favourite *charkha*, remarking, in the course of his speech, that if he spoke freely, Government would send him to jail. About 15 Bengalis attended this day's meeting.

*Page 664, para. 1657 (1), (2)—*

*East Khandesh, October 24.*—M. K. Gandhi passed through the District by the Punjab Mail on October 20 and was met at the Bhusawal, Jalgaon, Pachora and Chalisgaon stations by the prominent local agitators. At Bhusawal 300, and at Jalgaon 150 persons were at the station, while only a small crowd was present at Pachora and Chalisgaon, Rs. 200 and Rs. 2 were collected for the Das Memorial Fund at Bhusawal and Jalgaon respectively. Gandhi is said to have complained that very few of the crowd wore khaddar.

*Page 665, para. 1657 (2)-*

*Bombay City, S. B., October 21.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Sitapur by the Punjab Mail at 7 p.m. on October 20. The next morning (21st October) he left Bombay for Cutch by the S. S. Rupwati. About 500 people mostly Cutchis were present to give him a send-off at Bhau's Dhacca, Alexandra Dock. Manilal Kothari,

Vallabhbhai Patel and Jivraj Goculdas Nensi accompanied him from Bombay. Before the steamer left at 10-30 a.m. Gandhi made a short speech advising those present to act up to his usual advice of wearing khaddar and plying the *charkha* which, he hoped, would secure *Swaraj* before his death.

*Page 710, para. 1731—*

*Ahmedabad, November 7.*—M. K. Gandhi and party arrived back from Cutch on November 5 at the Ashram.

*Page 727, para. 1778—*

*Ahmedabad, November 14.*—Whilst here M. K. Gandhi has been holding a Spinners Conference and many well-known people have attended during the week, such as:—Sir P. C. Roy, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, Satishchandra Gupta, Jamnalal Bajaj, Gangadhar B. Deshpande, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Hanmantrao Kowjalgi, Miss Perin Dadabhai Nowroji, Sarojini Naidu and C. F. Andrews.

*Page 765, para. 1875—*

*Ahmedabad, November 28.*—M. K. Gandhi opened the "Youth Week " exhibition in the Ladies Club on November 22 and addressed the meeting. About 200 students and 30 girls attended. Ambalal Sarabhai, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai were prominent persons. R. B. Gregg also came with M. K. Gandhi. His speech (M. K. Gandhi's) was on self-sacrifice to attain *Swaraj*.

*Page 783, para. 1914—*

*Ahmedabad, December 5.*—Sarojini Naidu and Motilal Nehru came here on December 2 and put up with Ambalal Sarabhai. M. K. Gandhi went to Ambalal's place to see them at 3 p.m. on December 2 and stayed there for a few hours. Sarojini and Motilal left for Bombay on the evening of December 3 by the Gujarat Mail.

*Page 791, para. 1931—*

*Ahmedabad, December 5.*—The convocation ceremony of the National University was performed on December 5 at 8-30 a.m. at Usmanpur by M. K. Gandhi, the Chancellor. The report was read by the Registrar and degrees were granted. M. K. Gandhi then made his speech in which there was nothing particular. The new chancellor is Narshi Prasad Kalidas Bhat of the Dakshina Murti Bhavan of Bhavnagar and Nandlal Manilal Shah, the Registrar.

*Page 823, para. 1968 (1 and 2)—*

(1) *Ahmedabad, December 12.*—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by Vallabhbhai J. Patel and party left for Dholka on December 6 by the 9-45 p.m. train. On the way at Bavla Station, about 200 persons

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met him. At Dholka he addressed two meetings. One of women and the other of men, of 1,000 and 3,000 persons, respectively. They returned the next day and left for Bombay the same evening. Gandhi was given a purse of Rs. 1,257, all told, and he also collected more on the spot.

(2) *Bombay City, S. B., December 10*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on December 8 from Dholka. The same evening he presided at the annual prize distribution of the National High School, Bombay, at the Bhangwadi Theatre, Kalbadevi Road. About 1,000 persons attended, prominent among them being Lala Lajpatrai, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Miss Slade, Revashankar Jagjiwan, Bhai Permanand and others. After dialogues by some of the students in vernacular and English, the report of the school for last year was read out. M. K. Gandhi then distributed the prizes and his written speech in Gujarati was read out by Dayalji Nanubhai Desai. In this he advised the students to stick to khaddar and expressed his confidence that the students would always be ready to sacrifice themselves for their country. He pointed out that the dresses of some of the students who took part in the dialogues were not of khaddar.

He left Bombay for Wardha *via* Nagpur on December 9 with Miss Slade.

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**1926**

*Page 41, para. 106-A (2)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, January 21.*—From about the middle of December, volunteers and delegates flocked to Cawnpore from all over the country. The delegates numbered about 3,500 and volunteers about 1,100. A huge crowd collected on December 23 to welcome Gandhi and Mrs. Naidu, the President-elect of the Congress, the former receiving the greater share of popular attention. Very little interest was taken in Mrs. Naidu, except by the Communists, on account of her imperialistic ideas and ill-treatment of Lala Lajpatrai. In fact, a movement was on foot to boycott her arrival, but nothing came of it. The Congress camp daily attracted large crowds who merely came to see the *tamasha* and took but little interest in the political propaganda. The attitude of the crowd was quiet and friendly and no sign of enmity against Europeans or Government servants could be seen. The same may be said of the Congress volunteers and audience inside the pandal. Mrs. Naidu as President cannot be said to have been altogether a success. She commanded little attention or respect and was able to maintain her position only by Gandhi's tactful self-effacement. Gandhi after the passing of the yarn-franchise was seldom seen in the Congress. Except for the outbreak of the Ali Brothers, Hasrat Mohani and similar firebrands, the proceedings of the Congress were unusually mild and quiet. The Muslims held aloof, the Maharashtra party was in rebellion and an unhappy quarrel with the Rajputana delegates turned them and their communist friends into acting enemies, who headed by Arjunlal Sethi and Hasrat Mohani attempted, in spite of the volunteers, to storm the pandal and threatened to burn down the Congress camp. A lathi-fight ensued and a few heads and many feelings were hurt. However, the Congress did work for three days and after passing the yarn-franchise, which was done to keep Gandhi with Congress, the resolution regarding the compulsory wearing of khaddar was thrown out by a large majority. Motilal Nehru had an idea that the split between the Congress and the Maharashtra party might be patched up by a compromise allowing those that wished to do so to take up Responsive co-operation, but Gandhi made it clear that he was opposed to this and it was finally decided that no Congressman should be allowed to accept a paid Government post, though they may be allowed for the present to carry on work in the Assembly and the Councils. This naturally irritated Kelkar and Jayakar and their followers. They threatened to break away from the Congress and to form a new organisation but

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were over-persuaded, and Kelkar and Jayakar have now resigned their Government posts and are devoting themselves to propaganda on behalf of Responsive Co-operation. Led by Motilal Nehru the Congress passed a resolution to the effect that a fresh demand for Self-Government should be made in the Assembly and it was decided that if this did not meet with a satisfactory response before the end of February 1926, the Working Committee of the Congress should decide whether or not Civil Disobedience should be started. The last two resolutions are regarded by many people as mere electioneering propaganda and incapable of enforcement. It is very probable that after the coming election there will be an important change in the Congress programme involving rapprochement with the Maharashtra party. Resolutions were also passed condemning the Bengal Ordinance, the Burmese Sea Passages Tax, the Non-Burman Offenders' Expulsion Bill, the proposal to settle Moplah Prisoners in the Andamans, with resolutions of sympathy with the Indians in South Africa and with the Sikhs in their troubles. In the Congress pandal there was a feeling of unreality about the proceedings.

Nona of the visitors and few of the delegates could hear the speeches, and they consequently indulged in private conversation ; even the more important resolutions aroused little general interest.

Before the actual session of the Congress, a feeling had come over a very minor section of the leaders that in the absence of a leader unanimously accepted as such by the masses and who was really able to lead them, the country would not in any way be benefited by the Congress or the manifold conferences, which produced rivalry, jealousy and envy amongst the different political workers and ended in social, political and communal splits, so very damaging to the progress of the country. But they could not say this openly to prevent the waste of public money over such meetings, so long as the majority wanted all these shows to display their own qualifications (or the lack of them) and for this reason many prominent persons from this Presidency did not even trouble to attend the Congress, L. B. Bhojkar, K. G. Lohokare, N. R. Gunjal, R. G. Soman, D. V. Belvi being instances of the above kind.

*Pace 101, para. 216—*

*Ahmedabad, January 30.*—Mr. and Mrs. Conrad and Miss Beste went to the Ashram at 3-30 p.m. on January 25th, but they did not see M. K. Gandhi as he was ill. They left for Bombay the same day.



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Page 137, para. 334—

*Ahmedabad, February 13.*—The following members of the South African Delegation came here on February 13 from Delhi to see M. K. Gandhi. They stayed at the Ashram and had a talk *in camera* with M. K. Gandhi for about three hours. M. K. Gandhi advised them to stand on their own legs as he did not think that they would get sound support from the Government of India. He told them that both he and Mrs. Naidu would come to South Africa if required. B. S. Pather, James Godfrey, G. Mirza and Amod Bhayat. The last had come from Surat on February 14.

Page 140, para. 349—

*Panch Mahals, February 13.*—The Baria Parishad was held at Paragadh on February 9. Vallabhbhai J. Patel presided and about 2,000 persons were present of whom the majority were Dharallas.

Several prominent non-co-operators attended. Abbas Tyabji, Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai, Kallianji Vithalbai Mehta, Dayalji Nanubhai Desai, Laxmidas Nanubhai Desai, Waman Sitaram Mukadam, Mahadev Haribhai Desai and others. The President opened the proceedings by giving a message from Gandhi. This message chiefly consisted of advice to use the *charkha* and to abstain from liquor and drugs.

Page 207, para. 552—

*Ahmedabad, March 20.*—M. K. Gandhi will go to Mussooree early in April. It is also rumoured that he is likely to go to China. Vallabhbhai J. Patel on being asked said there was some correspondence about it; but nothing was settled yet.

Page 215, para. 573-A—

*Ahmedabad, March 20.*—On March 19, 20 and 21 there was a singing jalsa held here under M. K. Gandhi's presidentship. On the 19th and 20th it was held in the Premabhai Hall for which tickets had to be purchased. On the 21st it was held at the Ashram and was free.

Page 220, para. 585—

*Ahmedabad, March 27.*—M. K. Gandhi has postponed going to Mussooree for about two weeks. He has wired to C. Rajagopala-chari to come and see him before he goes.

Page 244, para. 675—

*Ahmedabad, April 10.*—Madan Mohan Malaviya came here on March 8, saw M. K. Gandhi, and left the same day for Jaipur.



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*Page 259, para. 715—*

*Ahmedabad, April 17.*—M. K. Gandhi has cancelled his visit to Mussooree as he is much better in health.

*Page 262, para. 727—*

*April 28.*—The following is a cutting from the *Mahratta*, dated April 25, 1926: —

**CONGRESS AFFAIRS**  
**SABARMATI CONFERENCE.**  
AGREEMENT -REACHED.  
*Acceptance of Office agreed to.*

The following joint statement has been issued to the press:—

"A conference convened at the instance of Pandit Motilal Nehru was held at Sabarmati (Ahmedabad) on Tuesday and Wednesday, 20th and 21st April. The following persons were present:— Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Naidu, Lala Lajpat Rai, Messrs. Kelkar, Jayakar, Aney, Moonje, D. V. Gokhale and G. A. Ogale. A few other friends, who had been invited, could not attend owing to other engagements.

A number of telegrams and letters were received containing individual opinions expressed on matters likely to come up for discussion in the conference with a view to settle the difference between the Swarajists and the Responsivists. In particular, a long telegram was received from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya which contained suggestions for bringing together all the Indian parties on a common platform in a united Congress.

The discussion lasted for two days into which both the parties entered in a frank and friendly spirit. It centred round the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Delhi in March last, the resolution adopted by the Responsive Co-operation Party at Akola in February last and the resolutions adopted at the sessions of the Indian National party held in Bombay on the 3rd and 4th instants.

**TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.**

The conference adopted the following as embodying its decision on the points specially discussed:—

It is hereby agreed between the undersigned, subject to the confirmation of the All-India Congress Committee that the response made by the Government shall for the purpose of clause (A)

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and (B) of resolution 2B-(4) of the All-India Congress Committee, dated 6th and 7th March 1926, be considered satisfactory in the provinces, if power, responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to the Ministers and the sufficiency of such power, responsibility and initiative in each province shall be decided, in the first instance, by the Congress members of the Legislative Council of that province subject to confirmation by a Committee consisting of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar. It is further agreed that the said Committee will decide all disputes about the selection of candidates in the Congress Provinces of Bombay, Maharashtra, Berar and the Central Provinces.

This agreement has been subscribed to by undersigned in their individual capacities and it will be submitted for ratification to the executives of the Swaraj and Responsive Co-operation parties. It will be placed for ratification before the All-India Congress Committee which is being convened on the 5th and 6th May next at Sabarmati (Ahmedabad).

This statement is signed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. M. S. Aney, Mr. D. V. Gokhale and Mr. Ogale.

#### **DELHI RESOLUTION.**

*Note.*—Clauses (a) and (b), of the Delhi resolution referred to above were as follows:—That Congressmen in the Legislatures shall (a) refuse to accept offices in gift of the Government until, in the opinion of the Congress a satisfactory response is made by the Government; and (b) refuse supplies and throw out the Budget until such response is made by the Government unless otherwise instructed by the Congress Working Committee.

*Page 289, para. 792—*

The All-India Congress Committee meeting at Ahmedabad.

The Sabarmati Pact of April 21, was to be ratified by the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad. The Pact as it stood indicated an agreement between the Responsivists and Swaraj leaders on the disputed question of accepting Offices. It had been decided that Offices should be accepted if power, responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties were secured to the Ministers of the provinces named. It, however, raised a storm of adverse comment against Pandit Motilal Nehru who was accused of surrender chiefly by the Madras and Bengal Swarajists. The Pandit had to explain and appeal for patience to his own

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followers, but he found the odds against him and it was consequently hinted that the Pact was not going to be ratified at Ahmedabad. Different interpretations began to appear. The Responsivists were not unaware of the trend of events. They, therefore, met in Bombay on May 3 and resolved to stand by the Pact, but to proceed no further.

On their arrival at Ahmedabad on May 4, they were given as a substitute for the original Pact a copy of a fresh draft which was going to be considered by the Working Committee that morning, when they had been invited to attend. The Draft Resolution was, however, a travesty of the Sabarmati Pact, and the Responsivists declined to attend the meeting, as they considered no useful purpose would be served, thereby. But as both Mrs. Naidu and Pandit Motilal seemed anxious to discuss matters, the Responsivists met them at the Circuit House. Here M. R. Jayakar found that by "power, responsibility and initiative" the Pandit meant "charge of the purse and power to bring about the release of political prisoners, etc." Moreover, it was to be decided by the Executive Committee of the Congress whether the "power, responsibility and initiative" in the Provinces were according to the demands of the Assembly of 1924 and 1925 for the acceptance of offices. M. R. Jayakar could not accept such an amplification, and it was also found that neither Mrs. Naidu nor Pandit Motilal had the courage to stand by the Pact they had signed, on account of the opposition they would meet within the All-India Congress Committee meeting. The Responsivists therefore abstained from participation in the All-India Congress Committee meeting, and wrote accordingly to the President of the All-India Congress Committee. The Correspondence in this connection, published in the *Maharatta*, dated May 9, is very illuminating.

The All-India Congress Committee could not meet until 9 p.m. on May 4 in the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, for the above, and the presentation of municipal addresses to Dr. Besant, Mrs. S. Naidu, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Shaukat Ali. About 100 persons, including some Liberal and Nationalist Party leaders, such as Sir Moropant Joshi, Dr. Paranjpe, B. S. Kamat, etc., were present. Mrs. Naidu was in the chair. None of the Responsivists being there, the consideration of the ratification of the Sabarmati Pact was dropped. The President then formally moved that a resolution congratulating Government and leaders on arriving at a happy agreement in connection with South Africa to be worded hereafter in consultation with M. K. Gandhi be passed. But members wanted

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to know the wording of the resolution, when the President had to point out that there could be no objection to their passing the mere resolution that a telegram be sent. It was not, however, accepted and was therefore postponed to a later stage.

Pandit Motilal Nehru then moved that a committee consisting of Shrinivas Iyengar, Ranga Swami Iyengar and C. Rajagopalachari be appointed to go through Dr. Annie Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill and report recommendations to the Working Committee. It was opposed by T. Prakasham, Satyamurti, Govindanand, and Chagla on the grounds that it had not so far been placed before the Congress that there was no national sanction behind it, that Government had not made any gesture in that direction, and that the prestige of the Congress must always have precedence over that of a personality. Sidhwa could not see any reason why the question of having a committee should be opposed. Pandit Motilal Nehru spent his force in explaining himself, but the House was not in a mood to accept the proposal.

At this stage, M. K. Gandhi arrived and was received by all standing.

The Pandit then made a statement on the Sabarmati Pact. While this was being done, the President received the Responsivists' letter giving reasons why they did not attend the All-India Congress Meeting. It was read out when there were some hot speeches, and Mohamed Ali advised non-co-operation with those who rebel against the Congress. Shrinivas Iyengar said they must not spoil negotiations by suggesting that others should not join the Congress. He then proposed a vote of thanks to Pandit Motilal for his sincere efforts to bring about unity. B. S. Kamat was surprised to see that two eminent lawyers should not know what they were talking about or signing. He added that they came to Ahmedabad for unity, but that unity was further away to-day than ever before. T. Prakasham, Satyamurti and Shaukat Ali advised the New Nationalist to join the Congress, which opened its doors to them. Dr. Besant did not see any reason why everyone should not join the Congress after Belgaum. She did not, however, desire that the majority should tyrannise over the minority and did not believe that those who did not obey the majority view were traitors. She would work actively for the Congress even in a minority, if she was not to remain tongue-tied. It was of vital importance that the country should be united to fight the Bureaucracy—which was profiting by their quarrels and make India

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free. Madan Mohan Malaviya, after making a short speech in support of unity, moved for the consideration of the All-India Congress Committee:—

The All-India Congress Committee recommends that at a special session of the Congress the following rule be adopted in relation to acceptance of offices:—

"When the majority of elected Members of the Congress Party, in any Legislature, should be of opinion that the objects of the Party would be advanced by the acceptance of ministerships or other positions of power, responsibility and initiative, which are open to election by or are otherwise responsible to, the people's Party within the Legislature, members of that Party may accept such offices, subject to constitutional control of the Party."

It was seconded by B. Das. Mohamed Ali was prepared to eliminate khaddar if that stood in the way of union. At this stage it was 11-30 p.m., and the House adjourned till 8 a.m. on the following day.

M. K. Gandhi was present throughout but did not take any part in the proceedings.

The All-India Congress Committee met again on May 5 at 8-15 a.m. with Mrs. S. Naidu in the chair, in the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. About 200 visitors were allowed to be present at the meeting at this time. Gandhi, however, did not attend.

The South Africa resolution of overnight with the telegram worded by M. K. Gandhi was moved by Satyamurti. Shringarvela Chettiar, in seconding it, went out of his way to impress upon the House that both the British and South African Governments were Capitalist Government, and should not, therefore, be trusted. He was, however, ruled out of order. The purport of the resolution ran as follows:—

"This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Government of India and the Union Government of South Africa for bringing about the change of mentality in connection with the Class Area Bill and thus postponing the final passing of it. This meeting congratulates the members of the South African Delegation for the bold stand taken by them." This was passed unanimously.

The next resolution about the Calcutta riots ran as under:—

"That this meeting deplores the Communal riots which have taken place at Calcutta wherein several innocent lives have been lost and a great number injured. It also deplores the immense damage done to property by *goondas* of both communities, and the committee desire that the leaders of all communities should combine to make united efforts to bring about a compromise between them.

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Sen Gupta said that up-country Hindus and Muslims who had come to stay in Calcutta and the Sangathan, Tabligh and Tanzim movements were, responsible for the riots. The speeches of Sir Abdul Rahim and the secret efforts of a third party (Government) had their share of responsibility. Purshottamji of Calcutta differed from him and pointed out that some members of the All-India Congress Committee were promoting the riots and that he was prepared to prove his statement if the House wanted him to do so. During the speeches the Ali Brothers were indulging in taunts against Madan Mohan Malaviya and others who supported the Sangathan movement and Sen Gupta had therefore to wind up the resolution and swear that the Pandit had no hand in the riots.

The last resolution discussed by the House was regarding the special session of the Congress. Sir Moropant appealed that it should be adopted as they wanted to come into the Congress fold once more in view of the present situation in the country, and the importance of unity. Satyamurti retorted that the Congress was open to all and that they should, therefore, come in and convert them. Dr. Paranjpe thought that a change in the Congress creed was necessary if they were to come in. Sen Gupta insisted that if the Liberals were going to abide by the decision of the Special Congress, which was not going to differ from the one that had taken place yesterday, he would support the proposal for a special session. Sir Moropant, having had no time to consult the Executive of the Liberal Party before he came to Ahmedabad, could not give the required undertaking. The President also found that the House was not inclined to allow the motion in the absence of the other members of the Committee. The Pandit, therefore, withdrew his resolution.

Thus ended at noon this memorable meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad, which showed very scant respect either for Pandit Motilal Nehru or Mrs. Naidu or for the other Indian Nationalist Party leaders who had gone there in response to the call of the President, in the hope' of attaining unity.

The Swarajist and allied Press, while unanimous in approving the rejection of the Sabarmati Pact, has been-deploring, here and there, the failure to bring about a larger unity. It has, however not refrained from condemning the Responsivists as Moderates, Champions of Bureaucratic rule, traitors, etc. The same thing is being done on the platform by Swarajist leaders. The Press represented by the *Kesari*, *Maratha*, *Dnyan Prakash*, etc., condemns Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mrs. Naidu, signatories to the Pact for their broken promise and laments the decision taken at Ahmedabad, which are likely to prove disastrous to the country.



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The Swarajists and No-changers in Poona are rejoicing over the defeat of the Responsivists at Ahmedabad. The latter, however, believe that they stand to lose nothing, although they would have preferred unity, even at a sacrifice. The Moderates and New Nationalists regret that their overtures for unity should be brushed aside for a creed and programme, which many Swarajists even, believe to be impossible and impracticable. The majority of people in Poona, however, are in favour of Responsive co-operation as is evidenced by the somewhat ugly reception they gave to Abhyankar, Barrister, of the Central Provinces and other Swarajists on May 7 and 12 in the Reay Market, Poona, when speeches were made on Swarajist policy and its programme.

The Responsivists, thus driven into the wilderness, met in conclave with the New Nationalists at Ahmedabad, and decided that they would, in their Party meeting to be held at Bombay on May 6, express sympathy with the aims and objects of the Indian National Party, so far as they are or may hereafter be in agreement with those of their own Party as laid down in the Akola Manifesto. As an indication of such sympathy and desire to work in co-operation with that Party, they agreed that Responsive Co-operation Party members may join the Indian National Party, and hoped that the Indian National Party will reciprocate.

*Page 295, para. 796—*

(1) *Kaira, May 1.*—The Calcutta riots have been the topic of discussion in the educated circle at Nadiad. Both the communities deplore the incidents and are afraid that the spirit evinced at Calcutta might affect the relations between the two communities in other parts of the country if the leaders did not take early steps for bringing about a settlement. Some blame the Government for the situation.

(2) *Bombay City, S. B., May 1.*—The course of the Calcutta riots has had little effect on the relations between Hindus and Musalmans in Bombay. The Central Khilafat Committee however is deeply concerned and is convening a special conference at Delhi on May 7 and 8 to decide their attitude towards the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Officially their object is to discover means of securing it and Gandhi is invited to attend, but there is undoubtedly a powerful body of Musalman opinion behind the view that it is time they ceased to dabble with the question and openly declared the Hindus to be their enemies. The Conference will presumably resolve itself into a struggle between Gandhi's pacifying influence and this purely communal standpoint. It will be surprising if the result is not the usual application of sticking-plaster over the offensive sore, but

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the sore will remain and whatever official resolutions may be passed the communalists will probably impose their will on the Central Khilafat Committee in Shaukat Ali's absence.

*Page 304, para. 828—*

*Sind C. I. D., May 8.*—Naraindas Anandji Bechar had received a letter from Gandhi asking him to refrain from standing for election as to do so would create ill-feeling between Gujaratis and Sindhis of Karachi. He therefore obtained testimonials from Haji Abdulla Haroon, Jamshed, N. R. Mehta, Hatim, A. K. Alavi, Hiralal Thakor, Dayalsing Charansing and others, to satisfy Gandhi that no such ill-feeling existed and asked Gandhi to cancel his letter. The interview had the required effect.

The question of candidacy was then brought before the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee and it was decided that either of the two new Karachi aspirants Naraindas Anandji Bechar and R. K. Sidhwa could apply to the Working Committee through the Sind Provincial Congress Committee and his claims would be considered. The President of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee has fixed May 11 as the limit for the receipt of the applications and convened a meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee on May 16 at Hyderabad to consider them.

Some Panchayats of the Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Thar Parkar District have resolved to support the candidature of Mukhi Harkishandas of Hyderabad in preference to that of Jairamdas Daulatram and it is reported that a deputation of some of the leading Sethias of the three districts is to wait upon the latter requesting him to withdraw in favour of the Mukhi.

*Page 306, para. 833 (2)—*

*Bombay City, S. B., May 10.*—Under the joint auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Swaraj Party a public meeting was held at the Marwadi Vidyalaya on the evening of May 7 when speeches were made on "the Sabarmati Pact and after." Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over an audience of about 500 people.

The president in winding up the proceedings condemned the attitude of the Responsivists in not attending the All-India Congress Committee meeting although invited twice by Gandhi, and herself an Indian lady. She appealed to the audience to stand by the Congress and fight the battle of liberty.



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Page 310, para. 845-A—

### INDIAN PRESS.

S. B. *Bombay Presidency, May 20.*—Gandhi's visit to His Excellency the Governor in Mahableshwar provides the *Mahratta* of May 16 with a God-given opportunity for asking awkward questions. The writer endeavours to show indeed that it was Gandhi who took the initiative in the matter and that it was he who solicited an interview with His Excellency. " It is now for the Mahatma to make a clean breast of the whole position. The only important point in all this from our point of view, is whether Mahatma's visit to the Governor, upon an invitation or without an invitation, is not in the nature of Responsive Co-operation, or even worse of there was no invitation at all.....The Responsive Co-operationists have no hesitation in claiming Mahatma Gandhi to be on their side.....We openly call upon Mahatma Gandhi to explain in *Young India* how his conduct materially differs from the conduct of any Responsivists."

Page 319, para. 869, (1), (2)—

S. B. *Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 21.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Mahableshwar on May 16. He was asked on May 18 by the Rev. James F. Edwards to visit the Mission School. He at first refused on the score of lack of time, but was eventually persuaded and in the evening attended a " Tennis Tea " at which all the missionaries and some other Europeans were present. He stayed a short time only and gave a short speech lasting about 3 minutes, on Love, particularly love for Indians.

It was apparently the Mission ladies, of whom there are any number at present in Mahableshwar, who were keenest on getting him to the party.

(2) S. B., *Bombay Presidency, Poona, May 22*—M. K. Gandhi came to Poona from Mahableshwar in the company of Chunilal Mehta and Jamnalal Bajaj on the morning of May 20 and proceeded direct to Sinhgadh, returning to Poona the same evening. Gandhi stayed with J. P. Trivedi of the Irrigation Department. He was visited by S. M. Paranjpe, S. K. Damle, V. M. Bhuskute and most of the non-co-operators of Poona, including about 30 Gujarati students.

Messrs. J. P. Trivedi and G. N. Kanitkar were at the Railway Station to see him off to Bombay for which he left by the night train the same day (20th May).

*Page 325, para. 886—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, May 25.*—The *Mahratta* dated the 23rd May has the following :—

"After an amount of bungling through whose-so-ever fault it may be, Mahatma Gandhi, the father of Non-co-operation, at last succeeded in having an interview with the Acting Governor of Bombay at Mahableswar on Tuesday and Wednesday last. It is said that in the course of the conversation the question of the Royal Agricultural Commission and the Agricultural Exhibition were discussed. Of course other outstanding matters like the South African Round Table Conference must have been talked of. But what topics were included in the Conference between the Mahatma and the Governor of the Presidency and what were not, is comparatively immaterial. The most dominating fact is that the arch Non-co-operator, the paragon of boycotts, the coiner of the term Satanic Government, thought his sought or unsought interview with the head of that Satanic Government so important that he broke his vow of not leaving his Ashram unless absolutely essential for his health—a vow that the Mahatma did not think it worth while to bend in deference to the All-India Congress Committee even the meeting of which was held at Ahmedabad for his sake and his sake alone—travelled all the way from Sabarmati to Poona, motored from Poona to Mahableswar and had his say with the Governor of Bombay !".

*Page 362, para 967(2)—*

*May 29.*—There have been strong rumours regarding Gandhi going to Finland early this month and that he will be away for three or four months ; but it is not a settled matter as yet, though quite probable.

*Note by S. B., Bombay Presidency, June 10.*—The *Times of India* of June 9 has the following : — "It has been finally decided that Mr. Gandhi is not to go. to Finland."

*Page 422, para. 1103—*

*July 5.*—Mahatma Gandhi's statement as to what he would do if he were Emperor of India has been received with great merriment by the Press. His best efforts are undoubtedly the following :—

".....I would disband practically the whole army of occupation in India, retaining only such police as may be necessary for the protection of her citizens against thieves and robbers. I would not bribe the Frontier tribe as they are being bribed to-day. But I would cultivate the friendliest relations with them and to that end send out reformers amongst them in order to find out the ways

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or means of providing useful occupation for them.....I would summon the representatives of both the Mahommedans and Hindus, search their pockets and deprive them of all eatables, and of all lethal weapons, if they have any, and lock them together in one room and open it only after they have settled their quarrels."

*Page 396, para. 1054—*

*Ahmedabad, June 19.*—On June 14, M. K. Gandhi's speech as Chancellor of the Gujrat Vidyapith to the students at the beginning of the term after the vacation was read by M. H. Desai as it was a day of silence with Gandhi. About 150 people including 110 students and Manlee were present. He advised the students to cultivate soul-force which was absolutely necessary for the uplift of the depressed classes and the spread of khaddar. He also spoke about the changes in the staff and A. T. Gidwani's departure to be Principal of the Prem Maha Vidyalaya.

*Page 599, para. 1502—*

*Ahmedabad, September 18.*—M. K. Gandhi, Mahadeo H. Desai, and Kalidas J. Jhaveri left here for Bombay on September 18 to meet the South African Deputation. The first two named returned on September 20.

*Page 713, para. 1796—*

*Ahmedabad, November 27.*—On November 21 the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Shastri came to Ahmedabad to see M. K. Gandhi before sailing for South Africa.

*Page 719, para. 1808—*

*Ahmedabad, December 4.*—Miss Hausding attended the Convocation Ceremony of the National College on November 28 and left for Wardha, C. P., with M. K. Gandhi on December 3.

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**1927**

*Page 71, para. 180—*

*West Khandesh, February 12.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Sindkheda on February 12 and received a purse of Rs. 500 there. He came to Shahada the same evening and was presented with an address by the Municipality headed by Purshottam Waman Pandit, Pleader, who is President. He gave a brief address in the usual strain. Be brotherly, don't quarrel, wear Khaddar, etc. Nothing of importance was said. The attendance was about 2,000 all classes being represented, including Bohoris and depressed classes. All his meetings here, including the purse and the auction for Rs. 300 of the case in which the address was presented to him, produced about Rs. 1,000.

Gandhi motored to Dondaicha about 8 p.m. and spent the night there.

*Page 72, para. 181—*

*East Khandesh, February 12.*—During the week M. K. Gandhi toured the East Khandesh District and collected in all about Rs. 21,000. His sole object in visiting the district seems to have been to collect money, as where money was not collected he merely halted the car and then proceeded when he learnt there was no purse for him. Gandhi was accompanied by his wife, Mahadeobhai Haribhai Desai of Ahmedabad, Shankar Dattatraya Deo of Poona, and Vasudev Vithal Dastane of Bhusawal. The sum and substance of Gandhi's speeches was the wearing of khaddar. Part of the money collected is for memorials for C. R. Das and Swami Shraddhanand. The Taluka Local Board at Jamner and the Municipalities of Jalgaon and Amalner presented Gandhi with addresses. Indra, the son of Shraddhanand, accompanied Gandhi part of the way. The Right Honourable Mr. Shrinivas Shastri visited Gandhi at Raver and Jalgaon probably in connection with the South African question.

*Page 98, para. 199—*

*Nasik, February 19.*—M. K. Gandhi visited the Nasik District on February 15. He addressed a meeting of 2,000 people at Malegaon where he was presented with a purse of Rs. 500 but being dissatisfied with the amount, a collection was made on the spot, Mrs. Gandhi herself approaching the women. Less than Rs. 10 was raised. At Nandgaon a public meeting was held which was attended by 2,000 persons. There were 7 other speakers, including a Mahar railway employee, and a purse of Rs. 501 was presented. When he arrived at Nasik Road on February 15, about 15 leaders met him at the railway station, but no Responsivists except Patankar. He proceeded by car to Nasik where he was publicly received at the house of Chagan

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Damodar Shroff. He then visited the Bhangi Laxmi Narayan Mandir, Shahu Chhatrapati Mahar Hostel, the Panjarapole and Anath Vidyarthi Griha at Panchvati. At the latter place he was presented with a purse of Rs. 11 which he returned. A khaddar shop was opened near where he stayed and Rs. 200 worth of khaddar was sold.

While addressing a meeting in the evening at Nasik, a pamphlet of eight questions with its translation in Hindi was handed over to him. It is said that this was the work of certain Responsivists. When he had answered the questions put to him he advised the audience, numbering about 6,000 people, to wear khaddar and to purchase it. At the end of the meeting he was handed a purse of Rs. 1,387.

When he passed through Sinnar, preparations were made for a public meeting near where the motors stop. About 300 persons assembled and hardly a dozen were in khaddar. There was much comment when he refused to get out of the car, but a purse of Rs. 101 was, however, given to him. The comment of the older men was that Tilak would not have been so discourteous. The constant changes in his plans caused some disappointment. He left Nasik for Sangamner (Ahmednagar District) on February 16.

*Page 99, para. 200—*

*Ahmednagar, February 19.*—The only matter worth reporting is M. K. Gandhi's visit to the District during the week. He arrived at Sangamner with his party at 10 p.m. on February 16. On the morning of the 17th he was given an address of welcome. He then addressed a crowd of about 1,000 persons for 20 minutes, after which he realised a sum of Rs. 450 by the sale of khaddar and by contributions. He then left for Kopergaon which he reached at 10 a.m. At 3 p.m., he was welcomed by about 2,500 persons in Gandhi Chowk, and was given an address by the Merchants' Association. After Gandhi had briefly replied, a collection was made and a silver plate and casket were auctioned. The total sum realised amounted to Rs. 1,000. At 3-45 p.m. he left for Belapur, where he was accorded a similar reception to that at Kopergaon, and was welcomed by about 5,000 people. At Belapur Gandhi was presented with a purse of Rs. 60, and a bangle and ring which were put up for auction and fetched Rs. 120. At 7-30 p.m. he and his followers left for Ahmednagar, which they reached at 9 p.m. Next morning (February 18), Gandhi visited several institutions in the City, such as the Rashtriya Pathshala, the Ayurveda Vidyalaya, etc., and delivered lectures on khaddar and the brotherhood of Indians, in the Vishram Bag, the Bagde Theatre and on the Gandhi Maidan to audiences numbering 3,000, 1,200 and 2,000 respectively. The Municipality and the District Local Board also gave him addresses of welcome. A purse

of Rs. 1,750 was presented to him. By auctioning a casket and garlands and with the sale-proceeds of khaddar, a sum of Rs. 5,000 was realised. At 4-45 p.m. Gandhi left Ahmednagar for Mirajgaon, *en-route* to Sholapur. At Mirajgaon he was accorded a welcome by 1,500 people and given a purse of Rs. 250. An additional sum of Rs. 150 was collected at a meeting addressed by him. Gandhi passed the night in the Traveller's Bungalow at Mirajgaon, and next morning at 6-30 left for Karmala (Sholapur District) accompanied by about 20 volunteers. During Gandhi's tour in this District, his speeches call for no particular mention. He confined himself to his usual themes—khaddar and untouchability.

*Page 100, para. 202(1)—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 28.*—The following have been elected to the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee :—

M. K. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, Mahadeo H. Desai, Dr. B. N. Kanuga, Imam Saheb Abdul Kadar Bavazir, Kalidas J. Jhaveri, Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai, J. H. Divan, M. V. Kothari, B. P. Thakore, Hariprasad P. Mehta.

*Page 104, para. 212—*

*February 21, 1927.*—The *Maharashtra*, dated the 20th February 1927 understands that Mahatma Gandhi gave the following reply to Shapurji Saklatwalla as a result of their interview at Yeotmal :—

"Your programme is impracticable in India and I am not prepared to help it. I have to spread only the khadi programme. If you think that your programme is practicable in India, you might return to India from England and make attempts to make it a success."

*Page 106, para. 223 (1 and 2)—*

(1) *S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 10.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Poona on March 4. He addressed several meetings the largest of which was attended by an audience of 10,000 people at the Reay Market. He was presented with a purse of Rs. 5,152 by Dr. V. D. Phatak. The same evening he addressed a meeting of about 3,000, mostly students. His speeches were in the usual strain advocating the wearing of khaddar, which in his opinion was the only method of obtaining Swaraj. He also openly advised the students to observe celibacy.

(2) *Belgaum, February 26.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Belgaum on February 26 and was welcomed at the Station by about 7,000 people. He left for Vengurla in the evening. A private meeting of the All-India Spinners' Association was held.

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*Page 112, para. 242—*

*Sholapur, March 16.*—M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by his wife, W. V. Dastane and Mahadev Haribhai Desai, arrived in the Sholapur District on February 19. He addressed 10 meetings in the district on his pet subject "Khaddar". The total collections made by him during his tour, amounted to Rs. 8,596 of which the largest sum, viz., Rs. 6,251, was given to him at Sholapur. Here he was also presented with an address by the Municipality on February 21. At a public meeting at Sholapur on this day, he referred to a leaflet that had been distributed purporting to have been signed by 10 members of the Kelkar party wherein he was accused of siding with the Mahom-medans on occasions of Hindu-Muslim riots and causelessly blaming the Hindus. He was asked to pay a surprise visit to Sholapur when he would find that those around him who were wearing khadi were not true lovers of khadi and were only making an outward show in this respect. To this he replied that he was never partial but treated both communities alike and would always continue to do so.

At Karmala and Barsi meetings he openly said that he was dissatisfied with the purses presented to him. Gandhi left for Gulbarga on February 22.

He returned from Gulbarga on February 23 in the morning and proceeded to Pandharpur. At Pandharpur he was presented with a purse of Rs. 125. He left for Phalton on the morning of February 24.

*Page 112, para. 243—*

*Ratnagiri, March 5.*—During M. K. Gandhi's visit (February 27 to March 2) to the Ratnagiri District, 10 meetings were held in various parts of the District, with audiences varying between 600 and 3,000 persons. Gandhi addressed most of the meetings in which he made the usual appeal for the use of khaddar and the abolition of untouchability. The total collection realised by him amounted to Rs. 5,449 for Khaddar propaganda.

Gadhi paid a visit to V. D. Savarkar on March 3.

*Para. 243-A—*

*Kolaba, March 5.*—During his visit to the Kolaba District between March 2nd and 3rd, M. K. Gandhi addressed eight meetings at various places in the District. On each of these occasions he spoke on the necessity of khadi, the use of the *charkha*, Hindu-Muslim unity, and removal of untouchability. At Alibag he was presented with addresses of welcome by the District Local Board, the Alibag Municipality and other private institutions.

The total collections received by him amounted to Rs. 3,699.



Gandhi left for Poona on March 3, 1927.

*Page, 123, para. 273—*

*Ahmedabad, March 12.*—On March 11 a private meeting of the All India Cow Protection Committee was held at the Ashram at Gandhi's residence at 3 p.m. About 30 persons were present. M. K. Gandhi was president. The object of the meeting was to make arrangements for a tannery at the Ashram. Gandhi spoke : " There is already a tannery at the Ashram on a small scale but it has no pucca building for storing hides. A sum of Rs. 50,000 is therefore required for a pucca building. The work of tanning will be done by the boys of the Ashram helped by *chamars*." Jamnalal Bajaj then moved a resolution that Rs. 1,00,000 should be collected for the tannery work and M. K. Gandhi should control it. The resolution was passed *nem. con.* The following office-bearers were elected:—

President	M. K. Gandhi.
Secretary	Valji Govindji Desai.
Treasurer	Rewashanker Jagjivan.

A committee of further 12 members was also appointed. M. K. Gandhi declared that he had already collected Rs. 14,000 and had spent Rs. 3,000. The remainder he would hand over to the Treasurer.

*Page 126, para. 283—*

*Surat, March 19.*—M. K. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, Premshanker Keshavram, addressed 2 meetings at Mandvi on March 15. The audience on the first occasion consisted mostly of Kaliparaj numbering 2,000 and 300 at the second gathering. Gandhi advised the Kaliparaj to abstain from liquor, and to educate their children and work the spinning-wheels. Patel who followed made a speech similar to Gandhi's and Keshavram presented a purse of Rs. 201 to Gandhi on behalf of the Mandvi Taluka Local Board.

At Bardoli, Gandhi delivered a lecture on march 17, when he dwelt on the evils of drink and urged the use of khaddar. During his visit to the District he declared the Swaraj Ashram open at Bardoli and also laid the foundation stone of the Swaraj Ashram at Vachhai.

*Page 126, para. 284—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, March 29.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Ko<sup>^</sup>apur on March 25. He addressed four meetings there, Speaking to an audience of ladies numbering about 500, he preached to them the advantage of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and appealed to them to help his khadi propaganda. In response some ladies gave their ornaments to him for this purpose. Replying to



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the students who presented him with a purse of Rs. 385 he advised them to be fearless, religious and truthful and to use swadeshi cloth, preferably khadi.

At a meeting convened later, in the evening, he was presented with an address by the citizens. Here he said that his principal object in coming to Kolhapur was to spread khadi and appealed to them to remove untouchability and to buy all khadi that was exhibited. The audience on this occasion numbered about 5,000 people.

Speaking at another gathering, he dwelt on the use of khadi and the evils of drinking. In the course of this visit he laid the foundation stone of a khadi house near the Hostel of the Vidyapeeth on the Kalamba Road. He also visited the Arya Samaj Schools, the American Mission Girls Schools and the Panjarapole. The total collections made by him amounted to Rs. 3,385 in all. He then left for Nipani at 9-15 p.m. and is reported to have taken ill there. He has been advised by his medical attendant to cancel his tour and take complete rest.

*Page 132, para. 307—*

M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the morning of March 23. He was given a purse by the Suburban District Congress Committee of Santa Cruz on the night of March 23. The next morning he visited Jiv Daya Mandali at Ghatkopar. He left Bombay for Poona in the afternoon of March 24 on his way to Kolhapur and Karnatak. He attended no public functions in Bombay.

*Page 139, para. 326—*

*Belgaum, April 2.*—M. K. Gandhi accompanied by his wife Kasturba, and Devadas M. Gandhi, his son, visited Nipani on March 30. G. B. Deshpande and C. Rajagopalachari were the principal speakers. The Nipani Municipality presented Gandhi with an address in a silver casket and a purse of Rs. 8,249.

Gandhi expressed his regret at being ill and thanked the Nipani people for the address and purse presented to him. He advocated unity among the Hindus, Mahommedans, Parsis, Christians and the untouchables and advised Brahmins and Non-Brahmins to stop quarrelling with each other. In all he collected Rs. 8,390. Mrs. Gandhi and her son Devdas opened a Khadi Bhandar in the market of Nipani. Here the audience consisted of about 1,000 persons including some ladies. Devdas expressed satisfaction at seeing people wearing khadi and exhorted the audience to use it daily and not only on ceremonial occasions. Kasturba said she was glad to open the Bhandar and advised the use of khadi and working of the *charkha*. The total collection realised on this occasion amounted to Rs. 5-12-0 only.

*Page 157, para. 362-A—*

*Belgaum, April 22.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived at Thalakwadi, Belgaum. from Amboli on April 18. A public meeting of about 4,000 persons was convened. G. B. Deshpande made a speech giving an account of Gandhi's illness at Nipani and requested the audience not to worry him. Rao Bahadur Vijappa Angol then read the Municipal address. In this address it was mentioned that the Belgaum Municipality had resolved to exempt khaddar from octroi duty. Gandhi was presented with a purse of about Rs. 3,176. The people of Shahapur who came to Belgaum gave him Rs. 500 and the Lingayat students contributed Rs. 45. In reply Gandhi thanked the people for the purses given him and said that his faith in Khadi, removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim, Brahmin and non-Brahmin unity had increased during his illness. He had full faith that the Karnatak would fulfil his desire.

*Page 196, para. 441(2)—*

*May 16.*—The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress consisting of S. Srinivas Iyengar, Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel, A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, T. Prakasham and Muhammad Ali, met in Mrs. Naidu's room at the Taj Mahal Hotel on the morning of May 15, to discuss the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. The report of the Working Committee together with its recommendations was drawn up and when the All-India Congress Committee commenced its session at 4 p.m. in the pandal at the Congress House, it was circulated to all the members for full discussion. About 200 members of the All-India Congress Committee were present, prominent among them being in addition to the Working Committee :—

Shaukat Ali, B. G. Horniman, V. A. Desai, J. B. Patel, M. R. Jayakar, Vithaldas VasANJI Jairajani, Jamnadas C. Errunza, R. S. Nimbkar, K. N. Joglekar, N. C. Kelkar, L. B. Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale, Dr. M. B. Velkar, Dr. Munje, Rev. Uttama, T. C. Goswami, Shuaib Qureshi, Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Pothan Joseph, Manilal Kothari, Dayalji Nanubhai Desai, S. Satya Murti.

The following guests were also present :—

B. F. Bharucha, G. K. Nariman, K. F. Nariman, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, K. M. Munshi, Jamnadas Dwarkadas. The Communist group was represented by P. Spratt, S. V. Ghate, S. S. Mirajkar, Feroze Din, R. S. Nimbkar and K. N. Joglekar.

S. Srinivas Iyengar in his opening speech concerned himself mainly with the position of Hindu-Muslim unity but it was soon evident to all that no solution had been arrived at. The leaders

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could not afford to face the problem honestly so they cried "place" where no peace was, and produced the following recommendations :—

"The Working Committee having considered the proposals made by the representative Muslim leaders who met in Delhi on 20th March last, as well the opinions of the Hindu Maha Sabha and other Hindu organisations and the opinions of other leaders and representatives of both communities, is of opinion :—

1. That any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

2. That, with a view to give full assurances to the two communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures, for the present, and if desired, such representation of the communities should be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature :

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities, including the Sikhs in the Punjab, may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces point.

(3-A). The proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Committee, a fair and reasonable one.

(3-B) The proposal that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province is one which has already been adopted in the Constitution of the Congress of the principle of the re-distribution of provinces on a legislative basis, and the Committee is of opinion that the proposal may be given effect to.

(4) That in the future constitution, liberty of conscience shall be guaranteed and no Legislature, Central or Provincial, should have power to make any laws interfering with liberty of conscience.

"Liberty of Conscience" means liberty of belief and worship, freedom of religious observances and association and freedom to carry on religious education and propaganda with one regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with similar rights of others.

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(5) No Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment, regarding inter-communal matter shall be moved, discussed or passed in any Legislature, Central or Provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of either community affected thereby in that Legislature opposed the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

"Inter-communal matters" means matters agreed upon as such by joint Standing Committee of both communities of the Hindus and Muslim members of the Legislatures concerned appointed at their commencement of every session of the Legislature."

These will doubtless be hailed by the nationalist press as the dawn of an era of peace but no one was deceived least of all those who produced them.

The only passage of any interest in Iyengar's speech were those in which he appealed for discipline in the Congress, and his remarks on labour and the masses which may be reproduced in full : —

"I must now turn to another aspect of our work, and to my mind it appears to be a very important aspect. We find that the labour organisations in the country are harassed by the Government, and we find that they are not able to make much headway. They deserve the support of the Congress. It is very necessary that labour grievances should be reiterated and must be removed by the Congress. In the Congress, we must pay more attention to Labour Organisation—Mass Organisation. Look at the treatment which the labourers receive at Bharatpur and in Madras and in connection with the "B. O. C." riots. These are the examples of the increased attention which the British people pay to the suppression of the labour movements and, therefore, it is necessary for our labour to be supported by the Congress. Without the political backing of the Congress, our labour will not hold their own against their opponents. It is equally necessary for Congress to understand that unless it backs up labour, it will not be fulfilling its duty as an Indian Democracy. Another point on which I shall like to devote some attention is the important point of organising the mass movement in the country. I know in Bombay—in the Maharashtra country they have been organising mass movements. In Bombay, the Land Revenue Assessment in certain districts is heavy just as some of us know of the Tanjore no-tax campaign, so these mass movements are very necessary for the purpose of supplementing the Council activities. To my mind, the real life of the Congress and the Council is the mass movement. It must be the real backbone of the Congress."

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On the conclusion of his speech Pandit Motilal Nehru moved a resolution asking the All-India Congress Committee to adopt the recommendations contained in the report of the Working Committee on the Hindu-Muslim question and calling upon all Congress organisations to take the necessary steps to have these recommendations carried out.

Babu Rajendra Prasad seconded the resolution. Dr. M. A. Ansari, S. Satya Murti and T. Goswami supported the resolution, while Vishwanathan (Andhra), R. S. Nimbkar, Harishchandra Bajpai, M. R. Jayakar and S. C. Das moved minor amendments. The resolution was still under discussion when the meeting adjourned till next day.

*Page 233, para. 521—*

*From the Madras Police Abstract of Intelligence, dated June 18, 1927—Bangalore (Civil and Military Station), June 9.*—Gandhi has arrived in Bangalore and is staying for about a month in one of the Darbar houses on the Links.

It is understood that he is inviting leaders of South India to visit him.

*Page 305, para. 657—*

*East Khandesh, August 6.*—Wasudeo Vithal Dastane returned to Bhusawal on July 14 after visiting Belgaum and Bangalore. At the latter place, he attended the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Khaddar Mandal held under the presidency of M. K. Gandhi.

*Page 402, para. 872—*

*Bombay City, S. B., October 31.*—In response to the invitation from His Excellency the Viceroy to attend the Conference at Delhi, M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Mangalore by the s. s. VEGAVATI on the morning of October 29 and left for Delhi by the B. B. & C. I. Punjab Mail the next day 30th October.

There was no public function in his honour.

*Page 408, para. 889-A—*

*Bombay City, S. B., November 7.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on the morning of November 6 and left for Colombo\* the next (7th November), morning by the s. s. QUERIMBA.

In the first week of December Gandhi was in Orissa.

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*N.B.*—Gandhi gave a farewell speech in Colombo on 25th November and was to leave the shores of Ceylon on 29th November from Jassna. (From : D. G. T. Vol. 2, Page 398).

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**1928**

*Page 70, para. 132—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, February 6.*—A conference of the International Fellowship Council was held on January 13, 14 and 15 at the Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad. M. K. Gandhi and C. F. Andrews were present throughout. The proceedings were strictly private, but an account of some of the discussions that took place is given in *Young India* of January 19.

*Page 77, para. 140 (5-A)—*

Ahmedabad, February 4.

To wind up the hartal on February 3, a public meeting was held in the bed of the Sabarmati River to protest against the appointment of the Simon Commission. It is estimated that from 3,000 to 4,000 persons were present, made up of from 1,000 to 1,500 khaddar clad Hindus who had, for the most part, come in procession, and the rest, persons in ordinary dress and probably present out of curiosity. Some 30 ladies, all Hindus, except 2 Parsis, were noticed. In the whole meeting it is estimated that less than 200 were Mussalmans.

On the proposal of Shankarlal G. Banker, Vallabhbhai J. Patel took the chair and addressing the meeting said that Government, thinking that the people were indifferent and had short memories, had once more commenced to oppress them. Government would soon realise, however, that the members had not entirely died out and that Government's action would now supply the breeze needed to produce a flame again. The public had responded, he claimed, to the call for a hartal without any extraneous pressure. Kalidas Jaskaran Jhaveri said that notwithstanding anything that might be said to the contrary by Government spokesmen, to-day's procession and meeting proved that the nation was awake. The chairman then read out a message from M. K. Gandhi on being firm and boycotting foreign cloth altogether.

*Page 87, para. 140-A—*

At a private meeting of the Senate of the National University on January 28 and 29, M. K. Gandhi presided, when resolutions were passed entrusting the management of the University to a Board prepared to accept the responsibility and to aim at the ideals of the University. It was laid down that the board should not exceed 25. The members are required to take an oath of allegiance to the University and to accept the following conditions : —

(a) Spin regularly ; (b) Believe in khaddar ; (c) Be opposed to untouchability; (d) Be non-co-operators and believers in non-



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violence ; (e) No member of the board to be dismissed except on the vote of a 4/5th majority of the other members : (f) All teaching to be in the student's mother-tongue, but Hindi must be taught as the *Lingua franca* of the Colleges.

Eighteen persons were selected as members of the board. The appointment of this board has led to dissensions among the professors which may lead to resignations in the near future. *Page 112, para. 189—*

*Ahmedabad, February 18.*—At a private meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National University, held in the National College on February 10, under the chairmanship of Vallabhbhai J. Patel a committee of seven was appointed to supervise and direct the work of the University. Those chosen were Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar, who was appointed president of the Committee for three years ; also appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University, and also replaces Jivatram Kirpalani, who recently resigned his post of Principal of the National College here. V. J. Patel, Narsiprasad Kalidas Bhatt, Shankarlal Ghelabhai Banker, Narhari Dwarkadas Parikh, Velji Govindji Desai, and Ramnarayan Vishwanath Pathak. N. D. Parikh was also appointed Secretary of the Committee of Registrar of the University. Strictly speaking M. K. Gandhi has now ceased to be Chancellor, but no one was appointed in his place. The new constitution has led to a number of resignations of members of the University staff, viz., Baburao Ganpatram Thakore, Saiyid Abu Jaffer son of Saiyid Abu Habib Nadvi and Homi Edulji Mehta.

*Page 210, para. 545—*

*Ahmedabad, March 31.*—A private meeting of certain mill-owners took place at the Sabarmati Ashram, on March 25, to discuss the boycott of foreign cloth, and particularly British cloth, as suggested by the All-India Congress Committee. Present at the meeting were : M. K. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas, Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai (millowner of Ahmedabad) Shanti Kumar of Bombay, Shankarlal G. Banker and two mill-owners of Bombay whose names are not known. It is understood that several differences of opinion arose, although they were in agreement on certain points. Nothing very definite appears to have been decided, beyond the suggestion that a committee should be formed to regulate the prices of foreign cotton. M. K. Gandhi guaranteed to control Indian cotton prices.

*Page 198, para. 505—*

*Ahmedabad, March 24.*—M. K. Gandhi is still undecided about leaving India on medical advice, though he is being urged to do so by various friends, including Pandit Motilal Nehru who had come

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here to see him. It is understood that he has received invitations from friends in Europe to go there to advise them in connection with the projected World Peace Movement, and that he had referred the matter to M. Remain Rolland, the French author, whose opinion he values. Gandhi however, has made it clear that he will not leave India, if he considers that the political situation here demands his presence.

*Page 230, para. 612—*

*Ahmedabad, April 7.*—M. K. Gandhi has decided not to go to Europe. He may leave for Bangalore next month for a change.

*Page 204, para. 533—*

*Ahmedabad, March 31.*—On March 27, in Maganbhai Wadi, Ahmedabad, a public meeting of the Bhangis (Sweepers) of Ahmedabad City was held. Some 500 persons, of whom 100 were women, were addressed by M. K. Gandhi. Other prominent persons present were : —

Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Shankarlal G. Banker, Pestonshah N. Vakil, Mrs. M. K. Gandhi and Miss Anusayabai Sarabhai. Gandhi's advice to his hearers was to keep themselves clean, and to give up their vices, such as drink and gambling. They must get it firmly into their minds that their work was in no way inferior to that of others. The speaker hoped that all the young men of Ahmedabad would take to such useful service.

*Page 226, para. 594—*

*Ahmedabad, April 17.*—An annual gathering of the school children attending the primary schools maintained by the Labour Union was held, on March 31, in the Municipal Hall at 8 a.m. M. K. Gandhi addressed the 550 boys, who with their teachers and a few Municipal Councillors, composed the audience, exhorting them to be clean in mind and body. His advice to the teachers was to teach without books. He had appealed to the rich sethias of Ahmedabad for funds to support these schools. At the same time they must not sit still and wait for the charity of the rich, but they must exert themselves and show that they were deserving of help. According to a report read out in the meeting, the Union runs 10 day schools and 16 night ones. The total number of names carried on their books is 1,400, and the annual expenditure Rs. 33,620.



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*Page 300, para. 814-2—*

*Surat, May 5.*—Meetings have been held at the following Villages in the Jalalpur Taluka to ask for assistance in the Bardoli *satyagraha*:—Jalalpur, Amalsad, Abrama, Satam, Ashtaga and Sisodra. Kanayalal Nanabhai Desai and Abbas Taybji of Baroda spoke at all of them, and appear to be the moving spirits.

Meetings were also held during the week at Kadod and Siker, in the Bardoli Taluka, on April 29 and May 1, respectively. Vallabhbhai J. Patel spoke at the latter; as also at Surat on April 30, and Sarbhon, Taluka Bardoi, on May 4. No further developments have so far occurred in the Bardoi Taluka, and except for one or two minor instances, the instructions given by Vallabhbhai to avoid breaches of the peace and collisions with Government officials are being generally carried out. Ravishankar S. Vyas has been sentenced to five months rigorous imprisonment under sections 147 and 186. Other cases are under trial now. Vallabhbhai's speeches have' been less guarded in the last few days, and one or two of his statements appear to be intended for challenges to Government to arrest him !

There is reason to believe that M. K. Gandhi is behind the Bardoi *satyagraha*, and it is stated that he intends to go to Bardoi himself to conduct the campaign, in spite of his illness, if Vallabhbhai be arrested. It is proposed to make it an All-India affair, as at Nagpur; but so far no prominent outsiders have been reported in the Taluka.

*Page 375, para. 982(1)—*

*Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, June 2.*—The *Sind Observer* of 5th June gives the following information about Hyderabad arrangements for Bardoi Day:—The Managing Committee of the Hyderabad District Congress Committee met on Sunday, the 3rd instant, and resolved to observe Tuesday, the 12th instant, as Bardoi *Satyagraha* day, as suggested by Jairamdas Daulatram, M.L.C., in his presidential speech at the Surat Conference and supported by Mahatma Gandhi in *Young India*, dated the 31st May last, and to convene a public meeting on that day.

*Page 411, para 1026(12)—*

*From the Punjab Secret Abstract dated June 16, 1928, para. 112-A.*—M. K. Gandhi is reported to have asked Sardul Singh " Kavishwar " to collect Rs. 3,000 and to enlist fifty volunteers from

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the Punjab for the help of the Bardoli *satyagrahis*. The City Congress Committee have opened a fund and have so far collected about Rs. 180. Kidar Nath Sehgal, Ram Chandra and others under the directions of the City Congress Committee have enrolled 23 members from Lahore for the Hindustani Sewa Dal.

*Page 414, para. 1037—*

*Ahmedabad, June 23.*—Sir Purshottamdas\* Thakurdas and Lalji Naranji of Bombay came to Ahmedabad, on June 20, to see M. K. Gandhi, in connection with the Passive Resistance movement, in Bardoli. They left for Bombay the same evening.

*Page 448, para. 1108(2)—*

*Ahmedabad, July 7.*—Sardar Ahmedalikhan, Afghan, said to be related by marriage to His Majesty King Amanullah of Afghanistan, accompanied by his son, arrived in Ahmedabad from Bombay on July 5. He is said to be the Governor of Kabul. The party put up with Muhammad Habil Abdulkader Valiula in Panchpati. During the day, the Sardar went sightseeing and visited the Ashram, where he had a short interview with M. K. Gandhi, who regretted he had not had previous intimation of the visit. The same evening the Sardar went to Viramgaum, where he put up with Maulavi Ghulam Mohiuddin. The following day Pir Sher Alias Fazl-i-Umar of Shor Bazaar, Kabul, arrived from Gondal to meet him and accompanied him as far as Sanand in the train, and then returned to Viramgaum by the next train. The Sardar continued his journey on to Ahmedabad, and then left for Chaman by the meter-gauge to Delhi, on the evening of July 6. Pir Fazl-i-Umar left Viramgaum for Gondal, via Wadhwan, early on July 7.

*Page 466, para. 1153—*

*Ahmedabad, July 14.*—Maulvi Abdur Raufkhan, Govind Kasal, Abdul Subhan, Mahmud Yusuf Fancy and Mahmud Sidik Bakshi, members of the Joint Strike Committee, Bombay, arrived at Ahmedabad on July 9. They saw M. K. Gandhi, officials of the local Labour Union and some jobbers in local mills to obtain funds for the Bombay mill-strike. Gandhi is said to have advised them to hold meetings, but, so far, they have not done so.

*Page 528, para. 1296—*

*Bombay City, S. B., August 8.*—As the Chairman of the Board of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Matunga, refused to allow the students of the textile department of the institute to weave a portrait of M. K. Gandhi, about 40 students held a meeting at

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Matunga protesting against his decision. One K. N. Gokli, a past student of the Institute, presided and the following two resolutions were passed: —

(1)" This meeting of the students of the Textile Department deeply feels for the decision of the Chairman of the Board of the V. J. Technical Institute in disallowing Mahatmaji's portrait to be woven on the loom and further requests the members of the board to consider the decision of the Chairman as the students take Mahatmaji as the ' apostle of peace' and not as a political leader as might have been misunderstood by the authorities."

(2)" This meeting of the students of the Textile Department requests the Principal to allow that work of the design of Mahatmaji's portrait to be carried on pending the decision of the Board of Institute.

Enquiries show that students are quiet in the school but agitate outside. The decision of the Board is awaited."

*Page 539, para. 1314—*

*Ahmedabad, August 18.*—On August 10, Sheth Mangaldas presided over a small meeting when it was decided that a public reception should be given to Vallabhbhai J. Patel on his return to Ahmedabad and a meeting to present an address should be held the same day in the evening. Arrangements were made to collect Rs. 700 to cover expenses and it was decided to ask shopkeepers to decorate their shops.

Vallabhbhai arrived in Ahmedabad on August 16 and was met at the station by a crowd of people dressed in khaddar. He was taken in procession, with numerous stops for garlanding through the City for about 3 hours. The procession itself consisted of 300 to 400 students and youths headed by a band in a motor lorry and miscellaneous crowd numbering about 2,000. This was augmented at intervals by people of the different localities traversed, so that in places like Maneck Chowk the crowd must have numbered at least 10,000. At the old Share Market, the President of the Stock and Share Brokers' Association presented Vallabhbhai with gold necklace.

The same evening a large meeting of about 10,000 persons met in Bhagubhai's Vada. Some 500 women were noticed, as well as a large number of students. The Chairman, Mangaldas Girdhardas, Seth, made a few personal congratulatory remarks to the guest of honour, and then read out a printed address which was then presented to Vallabhbhai in a silver casket. The address dwelt

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upon the great Victory that had been achieved by the peasants in Bardoli under the guidance of Vallabhbhai, who had shown the world that an unarmed people can bend a mighty Government by resorting to truth and non-violence. They could not have had a better leader than the man who had, had previous experience in similar cases in Nagpur and Borsad.

Miss Savita Trivedi followed by reading an address from the Ahmedabad Youth League. The point that the address sought to emphasise was that, whereas many could be found to pity and even help the peasants with money, it was only Vallabhbhai who had made them fearless and had taught them that instead of considering themselves inferior, they should realise that on them depended the well being of the whole country. Along with the address a purse of Rs. 1,001, collected for the Bardoli Fund, was presented.

M. K. Gandhi briefly addressed the meeting pointing out that the surname Patel meant a leader, and this Vallabhbhai had proved himself to be. They must realise that if they wanted *Swaraj* they must follow Vallabhbhai's method of adhering to truth and non-violence.

Vallabhbhai, in reply, eulogised M. K. Gandhi of whom he declared that he was but an humble disciple. It was Gandhi, in fact, who had given him the medicine which he had taken himself and passed on to the peasants. Gandhi, therefore, as the dispenser of this medicine alone deserved the credit. For the rest the peasants and his colleagues had worked under his orders in a faithful and disciplined manner.

*Page 546, para. 1336—*

*Bombay City S. B., August 14.*—About 75 students of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Matunga, assembled again on August 13 outside the premises of the College to protest against the attitude of the Chairman in disallowing the weaving of M. K. Gandhi's portrait on the loom. Bhagwanji Bhimbhai Desai, an ex-student and a weaving master in the Kaiser-i-Hind Mills, presided. The President congratulated the students on their decision not to weave any portrait unless that of M. K. Gandhi was allowed to be woven and blamed the authorities responsible for the ban for having taken a very narrow-minded view of Gandhi's personality for which not only millions of Indian people but a number of literary and scientific men in Europe had profound respect. The following resolution was then passed: —

"This meeting of the students places on record its emphatic protest against the ban by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees

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of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in disallowing the portrait of M. K. Gandhi to be woven on a loom and requests the Board to remove the ban."

*Page 552, para. 1353 (1)—*

*Ahmedabad, August 25.—* \* \* \* \*

On August 20th at a meeting to celebrate Brahma Samaj Day, M. K. Gandhi made a speech in which among other things he said that Vallabhbhai and the peasants of Bardoli succeeded because they had faith in God. The educated people must learn to have the same faith if they wished to obtain anything.

*Page 552, para. 1353 (3)—*

*Surat, August 18.—*A meeting of 1,500 people was held at Valod on August 11. M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai J. Patel were the principal speakers. In their speeches, they thanked providence and His Excellency the Governor for the happy termination of the Bardoli dispute. They expressed satisfaction at the success, in as much as the *Satyagrahis* had been able to live up to the pledge they had taken. Finally they asked the people to set about collecting " material " to be placed before the Enquiry Committee promised by Government. Some of the less important speakers complained of the scanty supply of food given to prisoners in the Sabarmati Jail, and of the want of adequate medical attention, which had resulted in the health of some of the *Satyagrahis* becoming impaired.

Meetings were held at Bardoli (about 20,000 people) and at Surat (about 15,000 people) on August 12, at which M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai were heartily welcomed. Vallabhbhai was congratulated on the great success he had been able to achieve. Satisfaction was also expressed at the action taken by Government in terminating the Bardoli dispute. At both gatherings M. K. Gandhi referred to his pet theme—khaddar. That no mention of khaddar had been made in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture was much deprecated.

In the evening, Vallabhbhai and Gandhi arrived from Bardoli at Surat by train. They were accompanied by volunteers from the various Ashrams and Chhavis of the Bardoli Taluka. The leaders compartment was gaily decorated and beflagged. At the Surat Station they were given a rousing ovation. M. K. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai then got into a two-horse carriage, and, followed by the Bardoli volunteers who carried banners and placards suitably inscribed, were slowly driven through the main highway of the City. *En route* they were greeted on all sides with cheers and cries of " Jai, Jai ". This demonstration was practically confined to Hindus,

the Mahommedans, owing to communal tension, taking very little part in it. The Hindu merchants of the town showed their Jubilation by beflagging their shops and by exhibiting their wares in profusion. At intervals, arches were erected across the street, heavily inscribed in Gujarati and English, for example: — " We shall resist all tyranny and oppression ! " " The fight for victory once begun, will be passed from sire to son ! " As usual meetings were much in evidence.

After the procession, a meeting, which was very poorly attended, was held in the riverbed. Gandhi and Vallabhbhai were restrained in their speeches, and freely gave expression to the indebtedness they owed to His Excellency the Governor for the settlement of the Bardoli issue. I noticed some of the less responsible of the Chhavni leaders signing and gesticulating with great animation during the meeting. But such jubilation is to be expected from a certain section of the people. The more considerate and well-informed realise that the Bardoli settlement is by no means an unadulterated victory for the *satyagrahis*, as they appreciate the fact that Government were about to take rigorous measures, and that there would have been no settlement had the *satyagrahi* leaders not acquiesced in accepting the terms laid down as a *sine qua non* by Government.

*Page 599, para. 1462-A (2)—*

(2) *Ahmedabad, September 15.*—On September 10 in the Gujarat Vidyapith compound, M. K. Gandhi addressed some 200 persons including about 40 women, who had met to celebrate the anniversary of Tolstoy. His speech, which was on the usual platitudinous lines, advocated the study of Tolstoy's life for certain good traits in it, such as his habit of seeing his own fault more clearly than he did those of others, his advocacy of "bread labour" resembling Yajna described in the Gita, which may be briefly described as the principle that a man who does not work shall not eat, and his love for others. Until the youth of India practised truth, non-violence and " bread-labour", *Swaraj* would not be won.

*Page 607, para. 1489—*

*Ahmedabad, September 8.*—The dispute between the Saraspur Mill authorities and the Labour Union was compromised as the result of a reference to M. K. Gandhi. On the whole the Labour Union appears to have scored. It is now starting an agitation to ensure that only Union labour shall be employed in Mills where the majority of workers at present are Union men.



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*Page, 633, para. 1542—*

*Ahmedabad, October 2.*—Annie Besant's 82nd birthday was celebrated at Ahmedabad on October 1, by the holding of a public meeting of about 800 persons. M. K. Gandhi presided. Among the speakers were Dr. Hariprasad Vrijrai Desai, Mrs. Vidyagavri Ramanbhai, Ambalal Bulakhi Shah, Khan Bahadur Dr. Nanavati and the President. They praised the good work done by Mrs. Besant for India's welfare. A. B. Shah said that Mrs. Besant first came to India in 1883 and established the Theosophical Society and since then about 1,550 branches of the Society had been established in the country.

The President said that Mrs. Besant had started the Home Rule propaganda when India was sleeping. He also referred to her life as being an ideal one. In conclusion he exhorted the young men to imitate her in some of her good qualities.

*Page 642, para. 1561—*

*Bombay City, S. B., September 25.*—A meeting of the textile students of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was held on the maidan opposite the Institute at Matunga of September 25. K. N. Gokli presided. About 20 students were present.

The President said that the decision of the Chairman of the Board of the Institute was regrettable. The Chairman would not allow the students to weave the portrait of Gandhi in the school and it was a very great insult to that patriot and leader. He said that the decision should have been put upon the school notice board, but apparently the authorities were afraid of the criticism in the press. He asked the students to unite as they had done at the time of arrival of the Simon Commission and continue to protest against the decision till successful.

A resolution protesting against the decision of the board was passed.

*Page 659, para. 1592—*

*Ahmedabad, September 29.*—It is learnt that Pandit Motilal Nehru has written to M. K. Gandhi complaining that his son has developed too extreme views about independence for India and needs to be admonished. He hopes that Gandhi will give Jawaharlal some sound advice on this subject when an opportunity occurs. It is said that Jawaharlal may come to Ahmedabad about October 12.

*Page 698, para. 1654—*

(1) *Ahmedabad, October 20.*—One Nemchand G. Shah of the Young Men's Jain Society has addressed a lengthy open letter to M. K. Gandhi on his recently expressed views on killing sick calves

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and mischievous monkeys' calling up him to give up his new theories or the people would refuse to accept his leadership and would practise Passive Resistance against him.

(2) *Bombay City, S. B., October 19.*—Under the auspices of the Humanitarian League, Bombay, a public meeting of the Hindus of Bombay was held on October 18th in the Godiji Maharaj Temple, Pydhonie, to protest against the action of M. K. Gandhi in killing a sick calf by a poisonous injection and also against his alleged intention of killing monkeys infesting the Gandhi Ashram at Ahmedabad. Jain Acharya Maharaj Shri Ladha Vijayasurji presided. About 300 persons attended.

Jayantilal Mankar, Rao Saheb Harjivan Velji, W. T. Halai and the President spoke protesting against Gandhi's views which he held were offensive to the religious susceptibilities of many Hindus. The following resolution was moved but when it was about to be put to the vote a large number of people objected to the word " Mahatma" with reference to Gandhi and pressed for its deletion from the resolution. It was accordingly deleted and the resolution was passed: —

" That this meeting expresses its disgust against the action of Gandhi in having a calf killed by injecting poison into its body and also protesting against the curious and destructive views expressed by him in connection with the sad incident. The meeting also protests against Gandhi's views in regard to cow-protection societies and panjrapoles and requests him to refrain from giving further expressions to such views in the interest of Hindu religion and *Ahimsa*."

*Page 751, para. 1768—*

*Surat, October 27.*—About 600 Jains met together in Surat on October 21 and vehemently protested against M. K. Gandhi's action in permitting a calf to be poisoned in Sabarmati Ashram. His action was described as " most brutal" and contrary to all principles of ahimsa. *Page 780, para. 1850 (7)—*

Ahmedabad, *November 24.*—News of the death of Lala Lajpatrai was received in Ahmedabad on November 17 and a number of shops and the share bazar were closed. Vithalbhai and Vallabhbhai J. Patel saw Gandhi on November 20 to discuss a programme for a commemoration day to be fixed later on by the Congress Committee.

In the Sabarmati River-bed on November 18. M. K. Gandhi presided and it was reported that 5,000 persons were present, although I personally did not think that number attended.



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A condolence resolution was moved by Seth Ambalal Sarabhai. The speeches on this occasion were mild.

*Page 818, para. 1908—*

*East Khandesh, November 24—*M. K. Gandhi passed through Jalgaon *en-route* to Wardha, Central Province, on November 24. He was garlanded at the Station by W. V. Dastane and four or five others. He came *via* Amalner, Tapti-valley Railway.

*Page 840, para. 1957--*

*Bombay City S. B., December 5.—*Under the auspices of the Bombay Youth League a public meeting to protest against the ban on M. K. Gandhi's portrait was held at the Peoples Jinnah Hall on December 4. About 200 people, mostly students, attended. B. G. Horniman presided. B. G. Horniman criticised the tendency of the Education Department to belittle the greatness of India and her national heroes and said that in the present instance it was most wonderful that the authorities of the V. J. T. Institute should consider Gandhi as an undesirable man whose portrait could not be woven. It was the policy of Government to hurl disgraceful insults with a view to humiliating the Indians and their revered leaders. It was up to the students to resent the insult and assert their right to do honour to the great man (Gandhi).

A resolution, protesting against the attitude of the V. J. T. Institute authorities for imposing a ban against the weaving of Gandhi's portrait and requesting the members of the Municipal Corporation to support K. F. Nariman's motion on the subject, was moved by M. C. Chagla.

Y. J. Meherali seconded it. He assured the students of the V. J. Technical Institute that the Youth League would stand by them until the ban was removed. He would also place the matter for discussion before the All-India Youth Conference to be held at Poona and would carry out the mandate given by the conference.

Jamnadas M. Mehta suggested that the students should wear fine miniature photos of Gandhi and should not submit to any unjustifiable order given by the Principal in respect thereof. He said that he was assured by a merchant of Bombay that the students who suffered on that account would be amply compensated for.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

*Page 841, para. 1958—*

*From the Central Provinces Secret Abstract, dated December 8, 1928—Wardha, December 1—*Mahatma Gandhi arrived at Wardha to spend a month of rest before going to attend the Congress. He is putting up in the " Ashram " and Jammanalal is looking after him.

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*Page 14, para. 34—*

*Bombay City, S. B., December 11, 1928.*—At the last meeting of the Municipal Corporation held on December 10, K. F. Nariman moved a resolution disapproving of the action of the Principal of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in refusing permission to the students for weaving the portrait of M. K. Gandhi but it was voted down.

*Ibid, December 15, 1928.*—Information has been received that the students of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute who are interested in the removal of the ban on Gandhi's portrait are thinking of going on strike as a protest against the decision of the authorities. The Youth League, Bombay, is championing their cause.

*Page 24, para. 61 (2)—*

(2) *From the Central Provinces Secret Abstract, dated December 15, 1928, para. 603 (1), Wardha, December 8, 1928.*—With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi, the following other persons arrived at Wardha: —

- (1) Shri Krishna Deo from Dhulia.
- (2) Ghanshyam Das Birla, and Parasnath from Calcutta.
- (3) Hari Bhau Upadhyaya, from Khandwa.
- (4) Kirpalani, from Benares.

Mahatma Gandhi and Birla took prominent part in the observance of " Lala Lajpatrai day" on the 29th November 1928, when the Lala's photograph was taken in a procession and after this a big meeting was addressed by the leaders including Mahatma Gandhi. The response to an appeal for funds towards the Lala's memorial fund was generous and about Rs. 18,000 was promised on the spot. Shri Krishna Deo addressed two other small meetings on " Khadi" and Samarth (Ramdas Swami, a Hindu Saint). The general \_ atmosphere was peaceful on the whole.

*Page 52, para. 142—*

(1) *Sind C. I. D., Karachi, January 12.*—It is reported that Gandhi intends to visit Sind some time next month to collect funds for the Lajpatrai Memorial Fund.

A telegram for Jairamdas Daulatram, M.L.C., is however said to have been received at Hyderabad from Gandhi enquiring if he should come to Sind on the 20th instant. The telegram was forwarded to Jairamdas who is now at Bombay.

Jawharmal Totiram Mansukhani *alias* Swami Govindanand writes in the *Kesari*, 12th instant, that he is opposed to the proposed visit to collect funds from Sind which needs all available money for Congress work.

Naraindas Anandji Bechar, M.L.C., is moving the Karachi Municipality to present an address of welcome to Gandhi and to sanction a sum of Rs. 1,000 for the purpose.

(2) *From the Rajputana Secret Abstract, dated January 12, 1929, para. 4.*—On the 5th January 1929, Gandhi passed through Ajmer from Delhi to Ahmedabad. About a dozen Gandhi-capped-men met him at the Railway Station but there was little or no enthusiasm.

(3) *From the Bihar and Orissa Secret Abstract dated January 12, 1929, para. 22—Sambalpur, January 1.*—Gandhi arrived at Jharsuguda Railway Station on the 21st December where Atchutanand Purohit and others had arranged an exhibition of charkha-spinning on the Sambalpur branch line platform. The same evening Gandhi and party reached Sambalpur where an immense crowd awaited his arrival. Gandhi was taken in a car to the house of his host Chandra Shekhar Bhera.

On the 22nd December there was a vast gathering, by arrangement, in the town to meet Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi. After the presentation of addresses by the Chairman of the Municipality and by Janardan Pujari, on behalf of the public, Gandhi delivered a short speech, advocating an extended use of the *charkha* and khaddar. The following monetary presentations were then made: —

Rs.

100 from the Municipal commissioners.

200 from the public.

1,000 from the Gujaratis.

100 from women.

Khaddar worth Rs. 500 was sold on the occasion. Gandhi left Sambalpur for Calcutta the same evening.

*Page 70, para. 189—*

(2) *Sind C. 1. D., January 12.*—It is now definitely stated that Gandhi will arrive in Karachi on the first proximo, and will visit Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Jacobabad, Larkana, Sukkur, Rohri, Naushahro and Mirpurkhas, from where he will proceed to Ahmedabad on the 12th idem.

The Karachi Municipality have resolved to present him with an address of welcome, and to obtain Government sanction by wire to the expenditure of Rs 1,000 for the purpose.

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Nevandram and Mukhi Hundomal, Councillors, Jacobabad Municipality, have moved the Jacobabad Municipality to present an address of welcome to Gandhi and to sanction a sum of Rs. 250.

*Page 71, para. 190—*

*Ahmedabad, January 12*

On January 10 at the meeting of the Bharat Bhuvan Theatre, H. V. Desai presided and introduced M. K. Gandhi to the audience of about 1,000.

To the Gujarat College students his advice was not to give in lest they should become the laughing stock of the public.

*Page 73, para. 199—*

*Ahmedabad, January 12.*—The annual convocation of the National University took place in the National College building on January 11. M. K. Gandhi, as Chancellor, presided and some 600 persons, many of whom were students of the Gujarat College, were present. The Registrar, Narhari Dwarkadas Parikh, read the annual report. He was followed by Acharya Ramdevji of the Hard war Gurukul, whose theme was the harm done to education by the British, who, when they came to India, found compulsory elementary education, but discontinued it. M. K. Gandhi followed with a homily on bravery. Professor Jivatram Bhagwandas Kirpalani, the ex-Principal of the National College, was then presented with a purse of Rs. 5,900. While thanking the donors he advised the students to form their character on the lines of those possessed by the English.

*Page 108, para. 296—*

*Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, February 2.*—The Mahatma arrived at Karachi on the 3rd instant. About two thousand Hindus, most of them not in Khadi, met him at the Railway Station. With the exception of Mir Mahomed Baloch, M.L.C., and half-a-dozen others the Muslims did not attend. In the procession, which was formed, three Islamic flags were noticed but there was no Muslim with them and the flags were introduced obviously for the purpose of showing that Muslims were taking part in the reception. In the evening the Municipal address was read to Gandhi and he replied. Thousands of people flocked to the gardens to see him.

Muslims, when asked why they do not turn out to honour Gandhi, reply that he tricked them. Hindus, on the other hand, comment bitterly on the conduct of Muslims whom they recently assisted with regard to the Amanullah meeting and propaganda, not to speak of the Khilafat days.

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Page 126, para. 332—

(a) Meeting at Rambagh Recreation ground on 4th instant.

(1) *Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, February 9.*—It was announced by Manilal Kothari that the sum of Rs. 40,507 had been collected in Karachi up to date for the Lala Lajpatrai fund.

Gandhi remarked that a larger amount should have been subscribed, and he exhorted others to come forward. He said he noticed that very little Khaddar was being worn and those who did turn out in Khaddar to his meetings on their return home removed it. He said this year was for preparation, and if *Swaraj* was not granted by the end of- the year, the Non-co-operation and No-tax campaign would be started.

After his speech volunteers went round with buckets and are reported to have collected Rs. 2,000, 8 gold-rings, and a blanket.

(b) Address by Sikh League on 5th instant.

The Karachi Sikh league read an address to Gandhi. The address suggested that his whole movement and organisation was in consonance with the precepts of the Sikh religion and was in fact taken from Sikhism. The League deplored the tendency to agitate for Dominion Status and not Independence and warned him that the Sikhs would not tolerate the rule of any single community in the Punjab.

Gandhi opened by reproving them for reading the address in English and not in their own language. He endeavoured to soothe the Sikhs by saying that there was no fear of the rule of any single community in any province, and that no community wished to rule over any other. There could be in India either British rule or *Swaraj*. He said it was impossible for any single community to rule. It was impossible for the English to retain them in bondage, to make them crawl on their bellies as they had done in the lanes of Amritsar.

(c) The address was read by Punniyah Mamaya, School-master, and Secretary of the Sweepers' Union. A bhangi child presented Gandhi with Rs. 25 and another child placed the "*Tilak*" mark on his forehead.

He replied in Gujarati calling attention to the importance of the work sweepers do in the town. He remarked there was no disgrace in performing this work. He advised them not to drink or eat the flesh of dead animals.

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(d) About 50 of these met him. They agreed to the Congress programme but it was pointed out that the dissensions among the workers would be fatal to success in Sind. Manilal Kothari read an agreement to abide by his decision in the matter. A worker suggested that as His Excellency the Viceroy had turned down Dominion Status, the non-co-operation campaign should start at once. Mir Mahomed Baloch, M.L.C., asked Gandhi to bring about unity between Hindus and Muslims. Swami Govindanand was of opinion that unity would be achieved when picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops started and recommended immediate action.

Jamaluddin Hassan Bukhari remarked he favoured revolution. They all, however, . agreed to wait for a signal from Gandhi who said he was touring and considering the whole question.

(e) Dr. Dastur Dallah, the Chairman, informed Gandhi (on 6th inst.) that the Parsis would not either wear khaddar or support him in his non-co-operation campaign. They had much regard for him, but his programme was dangerous.

Gandhi left for Jacobabad on the evening of the 6th. It was announced that Rs. 45,000 had been collected in Karachi.

There were other meetings and addresses but the above are worth nothing.

(f) He visited Jacobabad on the 7th, Shikarpur on the 8th, and Larkana on the 9th.

He delivered speeches urging the people to wear khaddar, boycott foreign cloth, the purchase of which was a severe drain on the country, and prepare for non-violent non-co-operation by the 1st January next. The response to his appeal for the Lajpatrai Fund was disappointing and he noticed that khaddar was little used. He also remarked on the dissensions among Congress leaders in Sind, The Muslims abstained from participating in the Gandhi proceedings. At Larkana. Khan Bahadur Shah Nawaz Khan Bhutto, M.L.C., met Gandhi at the station and presided at one of the meetings but it is said he did this to secure Hindu assistance in the case against his relation Wahidbux Bhutto, M.L.A.

At Shikarpur, Gandhi was warned by Lunidaram, Pleader, not to make much of untouchables as the Sanatanists were strong in the town and did not like such gestures.

(2) *Hyderabad, February 9.*—On February 3, M. K. Gandhi passed through Hyderabad Station *en route* for Karachi. About 200 persons went to meet him including all the local leaders. Dr. Choithram, Jairamdas, and Wassanmal Murijmal and two or three others accompanied him to Karachi. He refused to use the Second Class carriage reserved for him.

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On February 8 there was a meeting at the Congress Office at which duties were distributed to the 30 khaddar clad volunteers specially enlisted for M. K Gandhi's visit.

On February 7, members for the Seva Dal in khaki were drilled by Kishinchand Fateh Chand. Great efforts are being made by the Khaddar Prachar to make a show of khaddar for the visit.

Funds are being collected by Gujaratis, Jantias, Kalals sweepers and the students of all the local schools and colleges. According to the *Hindu* of February 9, the following have given Rs. 1,001 each: Mukhi Chandulal Valiram, Tikamdas Brothers, Bhai Hasaram Rijhumal, Bhai Wasiomal Assomal.

*Page 139, para. 370—*

(1) *Sind. C. I. D.. March 16—*M. K. Gandhi visited Sukkur, Rohri, Bhiria, Tharushah, Naushahro, Padidan, Hyderabad, Ootri and Mirpurkhas from where he left for Delhi on the 16th instant. The usual addresses were read and speeches delivered. At Sukkur the Khilafat Committee represented by Mahbub Ali Shah son of Sardar Ali Shah, Hakim Abdul Haq, and three others read him an address to enlist his sympathy and induce the Hindus to withdraw their objection to the attempt on the part of certain Muslims to make a mosque of the building on the camping ground, Sukkur.

At a public meeting held in honour of Gandhi at Rohri on the 11th instant about 10 men of the 5th Mahrattas were noticed among the people who attended and these soldiers took away copies" of the address to Gandhi. These copies were distributed. It was found that the soldiers were on their way to Quetta.

Rs. 75,619 are reported to have been collected in Sind for the Lajpatrai Fund.

(2) *Hyderabad, February 16.—*The outstanding event of the week was the visit of M. K. Gandhi from February 13 to 15. There was a public meeting and an address by the Municipality.

On February 13 he attended a private meeting of the Khaddar Prachar, at which about 30 members were present and about 20 others. It was stated that khaddar was not popular in Sind on account of its high cost.

*On February 14.—*M. K. Gandhi visited the Congress building at 8-30 a.m. and about 30 workers were present. Dr. Choithram read the report and stated that Rs. 7,000 worth of khaddar had been sold during the past year and that the Congress building had been purchased at a cost of Rs. 21,000. Gandhi unfurled the national-flag and "Bande Mataram" was sung. Gandhi then proceeded to the Holmsted Hall where he addressed about 600 students, including



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a few Mussalmans, and received a purse of Rs. 800. A subsequent collection yielded Rs. 25 more. At 4 p.m. he addressed 800 Hindu women at the Holmsted Hall and received a purse of Rs. 1,280 plus Rs. 120 and some ornaments collected on the spot. He advised the women to give up foreign clothes and other articles; also to check their husbands who drank liquor. He condemned *deti-leti*. At 6 p.m. he addressed 500 sweepers; at the Brahma temple, 300 of other castes were present. He was given a purse of Rs. 80 and women gave him ornaments worth Rs. 20. He spoke condemning untouchability praising the sweepers work and asked them to give up liquor and gambling. There was also a mass meeting at Fuleli at 7-30 p.m. which was attended by only 600 persons. The Kalals presented him with Rs. 25 and the Jathias with Rs. 242. At 8-30 p.m. there was a private meeting of Congress workers at the house of Jairamdas, M.L.C., at which about 70 Congress workers, including all the leaders, were present. Hakim Makhumuddin asked how *Swaraj* could be obtained when there was disunity between Hindus and Mussalmans and the latter were against the Nehru Report. Gandhi replied that he was pressing the Hindus to accept the Mussalman demands, but they were unwilling to do so as they were against nationalism. More conversations continued on that topic and Gandhi admitted that it would be very difficult to obtain *Swaraj* in 1930 if there was no unity. Maharaj Dwarka Prasad then complained that Jairamdas and his party, which was very strong in Sind, would not allow other Congress workers to work combinedly. Gandhi replied that anyone who wanted to work could do so in spite of difference of opinion and quoted the case of the Ali Brothers. Dwarka Prasad also complained that the Jairamdas Party had appointed Dr. Valiram Charatsingh, a member of the Sind Provincial Congress, though he did not habitually wear khaddar, whereas workers, like himself, had been left out. Gandhi replied that though Valiram did not habitually wear khaddar still he was not a bad man and was a sincere worker. He requested them to work in harmony and reminded them that Manilal Kothari had been appointed to settle their differences.

Besides those funds quoted above, Gandhi received the following purses: —

Hyderabad Panchayat and auction of presentation casket, Rs. 9,676-3-6 which makes a total of Rs. 12,268-3-6, plus 7 gold rings and two bangles.

*Page. 130, para. 342(2)—*

*Ahmedabad, February 9.—M. K. Gandhi has arranged for the students of the National College to sell Khaddar in the bazar for two hours every working day and all day on holidays.*



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*Page 170, para. 471—*

*Ahmedabad March 2* —On February 28 M. K. Gandhi performed the unveiling ceremony of the Tilak statue in the Victoria Gardens, Ahmedabad, before a gathering of about 1,000 persons. The invitations to the ceremony were issued by the President of the Municipality, who in his opening speech eulogised Tilak's services to the country, both in political and literary spheres. M. K. Gandhi made a short and not particularly noteworthy speech.

The same morning after the unveiling, M. K. Gandhi proceeded to the Municipal Office where he hoisted the "National" flag in the presence of the Municipal members and others numbering in all about 500.

M. K. Gandhi presided over a meeting in the river-bed on February 28 when the Honourable Mr. Shastri visited Ahmedabad. M. K. Gandhi, Honourable Mr. Shastri and a local Pleader were the only speakers. The speeches were unimportant.

*Ahmedabad, March 2.*—M. K. Gandhi left for Calcutta on March 1 accompanied by A. Subhaiya, T. Venkat Raghawan and Miss Raghawacharya.

(2) *From the Burma Secret Abstract, dated February 23, 1929, C.I.D., Burma, February 17.*—The *Rangoon Daily News* of the 17th February 1929, publishes the information that according to his present programme M. K. Gandhi is expected to arrive in Burma on the 8th March 1929, and to spend the whole of the month here, returning to India early in April.

*Page, 177 paras. 488, 489, 491—*

*Sind, C. I. D., March 2.*—It is reported that at the instance of M. K. Gandhi, Jairamdas Daulatram Alirchandani will resign his seat on the Bombay Legislative Council at the end of the current session, to work as Secretary of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee.

The *Hindu-Jati*, 2nd instant, congratulates Jairamdas.

*Para. 489—*

*Ahmedabad, March 2.*—The Honourable Mr. Shrinivas Shastri arrived in Ahmedabad on February 28 from Bombay, saw M. K. Gandhi, attended a public meeting in the evening and left for Bombay the same evening.

*Para. 491—*

*Ahmedabad, March 2.*—Chandrabhal Mewaram Johri attended a meeting presided over by M. K. Gandhi and addressed by the Honourable Mr. Shastri on February 28.

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*Page 186, para. 520—*

(1) *Sind, C. I. D., March 9.*—(a) About 600 persons attended a meeting at Hyderabad on the 5th instant to hear what Choithram had to say about the affair. "The chains of slavery", he said, " are so firmly fastened on us that we cannot express the feelings of our hearts and burn the symbol of our slavery." At the end of a long speech he called on the audience to produce foreign cloth for a bonfire. Some 25 caps, much the worse for wear, in exchange for which the donors received new khadi caps *gratis*, and some ties and collars were handed up. The articles were taken out and burned in the Holmsted Hall compound. Dr. Choithram warned cloth merchants not to place orders for foreign cloth as a boycott was to start.

(b) The meeting, which was held at the Khalikdina Hall on the 7th instant started with an audience of 50 and increased to 200— all Hindus. Swami Govindanand presided. He felt obliged at the outset to express his deep disappointment at the small attendance at this meeting in spite of the fact that not a month ago Gandhi had visited Sind, and the people had flocked in great numbers to see him. It was astounding that the worthless police should arrest a man who recently sat and ate at the same table as the Viceroy. It was said that Lord Irwin was a Christian and a religious man, yet such a thing had happened during his term of office. He then narrated the "*Zulums*" that had been perpetrated in the time of this Viceroy. He pretended to believe that Gandhi had been arrested by the Police Commissioner, Calcutta, for the offence of burning foreign cloth, and his speech was on those lines. He announced that foreign cloth would be collected and burnt in Karachi on the 17th instant. He would show the Government that their laws, which even a dog did not enquire about would be broken.

Durgadas B. Advani in his speech decided the case which is pending in Court. According to him the park was not a public place.

Jamaluddin H. Bukhari said that with the youth of the country sitting in front of him and the policeman arresting a leader of such eminence he would only remark that Indians were lacking in courage and self-respect. He was of opinion that Government by arresting a leader like Gandhi on a minor charge was merely trying their strength whether on the 1st January 1930, those who unfurled the banner of independence would be prepared to support it with their lives. He remarked that the requisite enthusiasm could not be obtained by merely wearing " Khadi" but by creating

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a revolutionary spirit. He had no faith in " Khadi" or boycott of foreign cloth. This could not bring independence, but a revolution alone could effect the freedom of India.

Parsram V. Tahilramani said it had been suggested that foreign cloth instead of being burnt should be given to the poor. But this was out of the question as the cloth would dishonour those poor people, and the proposal could not be considered.

It is reported that Swami Govindanand, President, Sind Provincial Congress Committee, and Parsram V. Tahilramani have jointly written to the Working Committee, Indian National Congress, protesting against the attitude of Gandhi in signing a bail bond and giving undertakings not to burn foreign cloth in Calcutta till the test case is decided.

(2) *Bombay City, S. B., March 6.*—Under the auspices of the Municipal Workers Union, a public meeting to protest against the arrest of M. K. Gandhi and the attitude of the Police of Calcutta was held in the compound of the Improvement Trust Blocks at Foras Road on March 5. Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, presided. About 200 people attended.

A. B. Kolhatkar, M. R. Tendulkar, Qamar Ahmed, Zahidali, S. H. Jhabwala, Dattatraya Ganpat Raote, S. S. Jadhav, D. D. Patkar and Dhondu Narayanrao Surve spoke in support of the resolution protesting against the attitude of the Calcutta police in arresting M. K. Gandhi for a trivial affair.

A. B. Kolhatkar pointed out that the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, had acted unwisely in taking a wrong view of the section of the police act and arresting the greatest and purest man in the world. A British prison was not the place for a man like M. K. Gandhi. It was a slur on the people of India that such a great man was foolishly taken away by the authorities from amongst them. It was not the fault of Gandhi but of the people themselves. The people had failed to do their duty to the country and carry out the programme laid down by him for *swaraj*.

Qamar Ahmed said that Gandhi's arrest was not an insignificant thing. The Government was testing the people who demanded *Swaraj*. After the advent of the British rule there had been so many quarrels between the Hindus and the Mahommadans. Although the Hindus and Mahommadans quarrelled among themselves, they united against the English. The British Government was afraid of the boycott movement as the Manchester workshops would close and the domination of the British Government would cease. He asked the audience to carry out Gandhi's programme.

Zahidali wondered why the bonfire of foreign cloth was now objected to by Government when it was allowed in the past throughout India. It was because the Hindus and Mahommadans were quarrelling among themselves that Government took advantage of the situation and arrested Gandhi. He asked the people to carry out the Congress programme even at the cost of their lives.

S. H. Jhabwala and others asked the audience to wear Khaddar and to boycott foreign cloth and liquor.

*Page 197, para. 541—*

*From the Bengal Secret Abstract, dated March 6, 1929, para. 725 — Calcutta Police, Special Branch, March 6.—*Mahatma M. K. Gandhi arrived from Delhi on the 3rd March and stayed with Jewan Lal Motichand, at No. 8, Pretoria Street. He left for Rangoon on the 5th *ejusdem*.

*Page 234, para. 614—*

*From the Burma Secret Abstract, dated March 16, 1929, para. 349—*

C. I. D., *Burma, March 16.*—Mahatma Gandhi accompanied by his wife, Mahadeo Desai, Editor of *Young India*, Purshottam, Professor Zakir Hussain, Girdhari Lal, A. Suhaiya and Raghavan, arrived in Rangoon from Calcutta by the S. S. ARONDA on the 8th March 1929. They were met on board by Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. Rafi, U. Chit Hlaing, Nanalal, Raja Reddiar, Y. D. Motalal and Dr. Dugal. At the wharf they were received by 'the Reception Committee and about 500 persons, including Gujaratis, Ooriyas, Madrasis, Bengalis, Sikhs, Muslims and a few Burmans and Pongyis. V. Madanjit and a number of volunteers kept order. Gandhi was garlanded by Mr. Rafi and then driven in a car to the residence of Dr. Mehta. During the day V. D. Mehta, Nanalal, V. Madanjit, Swami Shyama- nanda, Mulla Dawood, Maung Hla and S. C. Bhattacharjee had interviews with Gandhi. Pongyi U. Arlawka, Babu Ram Lal, Dr. Sarin, Ishar Singh Granthi, U. Kum, Dr. Bhansali, Raschid,

D. I. Abowath and others who sought an interview with Gandhi were not permitted to do so by the volunteers posted at the residence of Dr. Mehta.

At 5 p.m. Mr. Rafi on behalf of the Rangoon Corporation presented an address of welcome to Mr. Gandhi at Fytche Square Gardens. About 8,000 persons, mostly Indians, attended this meeting. In reply to the address, Mr. Gandhi congratulated the Corporation upon the progress made and said that the generosity and the broad-mindedness of the Burmese people were proverbial and that he would feel honoured to be claimed as a Buddhist. He then explained his mission to Burma which he said was undertaken with the sole object

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of collecting funds for the propagation of the Khaddar movement and the initiation of other schemes.

At 7 p.m. the same night at a meeting organized by Maung Su, U. Wimala Buddhi and the pongyis of the G. C. S. S. held at the Bagaya Kyaungdaik, another address of welcome was presented to Mr. Gandhi. About 4,000 persons, including 250 Burmese women, 400 pongyis and 200 Burmans attended. Maung Su read out the address which was in Burmese and which was later translated into English. It said that Gandhi's visit had given an impetus to the freedom's battle which was being fought by the people with the weapons of " non-violent, non-co-operation " and pointed out how the doctrine of " Ahimsa " enunciated by Gandhi was readily taken by the Pongyi, G. C. B. A. which was the most powerful and influential political body in Burma. Economic conditions, it complained, were being sapped by the importation of foreign goods and heavy taxation and that therefore the G. C. B. A. and G. C. S. S. contemplated passing resolutions at their forthcoming annual conferences, to boycott British goods, advocate the use of pinni and send a delegate to the conference being held in Paris in July 1929 under auspices of the League against Imperialism. In future the G. C. B. A. and G. C. S. S. will be guided by the dictates of the league. The address also bewailed the indifference of Indian residents in Burma to Burmese aspirations.

In reply Gandhi declined to express any opinion on the point raised by the address except that he pointed out the impracticability of boycotting British goods and advised them to start with the boycott of all cloths of foreign manufacture. He remonstrated with the Indians for not throwing in their lot with the Burmans and explained his doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation, which he said was not directed against any individual persons but against a system. He emphasised his belief that their salvation lay in the " *charkha* ".

On the 9th Gandhi visited the Hindu Social club, the Gujarati National School, the Islami National School and the Zinuatul Islam Girls School. At each of these places he was received by a large gathering and presented with a substantial purse.

In the evening, a mass meeting arranged by the Gandhi Reception Committee was held at Fytche Square under the chairmanship of Maung Chit Hlaing. About 10,000 persons, including 20 pongyis and about 200 Burmans attended. Chit Hlaing read out the address extolling Gandhi for the invaluable work he had done and the sacrifices he had made in the cause of freedom. He also announced that a sum of Rs. 61,000 had been promised by the various communities for the Gandhi purse. Gandhi in reply said

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that he was unable to give any useful advice for want of sufficient knowledge of local conditions. He declared that Rs. 61,000 was far too little and expected the members of the legal profession and doctors to open their purse strings and subscribe liberally. He referred to untouchability as a serious blot on Hinduism and that it must be rooted out even if Hinduism perished in the process. He described in detail the Khaddar industry and pointed out that a large sum of money was required to work it to a success. Finally, he appealed to the people to refrain from gambling, race-going and cinema-going and to subscribe the money that they would spend on these luxuries, to his fund. Collections were made by members of the volunteer corps. People were asked to part with even the Jewellery or ornaments they were wearing at the time.

Later in the evening he visited the Reddiar High School where the ladies presented an address of welcome. A collection of an assortment of jewellery was made and later auctioned at Mogul Street for the sum of Rs. 4,000.

On the morning of the 10th Gandhi visited the Ariff Hall at the invitation of the Gujarati Community, the Chettiar School at Kamble, Bauktaw, Reddiar School, the Sooniram Hall and the Sikh Temple, where he made his usual appeal for funds.

At 4 p.m. he was given a reception by the students at the Jubilee Hall, U. Kyaw Myint, presided. The address of welcome emphasised the youth movement and attributed the awakening of the young generation to the efforts of Gandhi who was characterised as the undisputed President of the great republics of the youths of not only India and Burma but of the whole world. In reply to the address Gandhi laid great stress on the importance of the spinning wheel and pointed out the defects of the educational system now obtaining.

At 7 p.m. he attended a public meeting held in his honour at the Swadagaon Pagoda. U. Paw Tun in welcoming Gandhi said that although there were differences of opinion between the Indians and Burmans and between the various political parties in Burma, they all had one common goal namely, political emancipation of Burma and India. Gandhi in reply spoke in praise of the part played by the Burmese priesthood. Collections were made as usual.

A purse was presented at the Sooniram Hall the same night at a reception arranged by Mr. Narayana Rao. When Gandhi arrived singing and dancing were in progress, and the latter expressed great indignation at being dragged into a theatre hall. In his reply to the address presented he advised the people to abstain from visiting cinemas, race-course and indulging in intoxicating drugs.



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The 11th was observed as a day of silence by Gandhi. At 8-30 p.m. he and his party excluding Dr. Zakir Hussain and Raghavan, left for Moulmein. V. D. Mehta, Nanalal and V, Madanjit accompanied the party, about 500 persons turned up to see them off. At almost all the stations *en route* crowds gathered and shouted " Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai". They were met at Martaban by some of the leading citizens of Moulmein and conveyed in a specially hired launch to Moulmein, where a large gathering was assembled to receive Gandhi. One hundred Congress volunteers kept order. Mr. A. D. Ince read out the address of welcome on behalf of the Moulmein Municipality, U. Chit Pe read out the Burmese translation of the above address. In reply Gandhi advised the people to adopt his policy of non-violence, lead a simple life, and wear khaddar. The party was accommodated at the premises of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. The mass meeting which was to have been held in the maidan that evening (12th March) was abandoned owing to a heavy downfall of rain. Another meeting was held at the Sam Buddha Ghosa School, 800 Burmans, 100 Burmese women, 25 pongyis and about 300 Indians attended. Mr. Ramandhan of Gadoe read out an address in Burmese on behalf of the peasants of the Amherst District wherein Gandhi's services for the cause of freedom were recounted. In reply Gandhi expressed great pleasure at the preponderance of Burmans at the meeting. He advised the peasants to stick to their village life and supplement their income by taking up spinning in their leisure hours.

At 6 p.m. Gandhi visited the Gujarati School and was there presented with a purse of Rs. 101.

At 8 a.m. on the 13th a mass meeting, attended by about 3,500 Burmans, 900 women, 70 pongyis and 1,000 Indian, was held at the maidan. Gandhi spoke against the 'drink evil and said he was pained to learn that one-third of the land revenue of Burma was earned from Excise. Turning to the Indians, he said that they had come to Burma to earn their livelihood but that they should not forget their " *Dharma* " and appealed to them to subscribe to the Khaddar Fund to their utmost capacity. He pointed out that Swaraj could only be won by unity and purity and to attain this, they should become members of the Indian National Congress and abstain from gambling, drinking, etc., continuing his speech, he told the Burmans that he had come to Burma to collect money from the Indians only and that they should not feel obliged to subscribe. Concluding, he spoke against the wearing of foreign silks and smoking.

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Gandhi and party left Moulmein on the evening of the 13th March 1929 and arrived back in Rangoon on the 14th morning. At Thaton he was given a reception and presented with a purse at the railway station platform.

On the 14th, between 1-30 p.m. and 4 p.m.' he granted interviews to Moulana Mohamed Ali, Dr. P. N. Chowdhury, C. V. Galliarra, Mr. and Mrs. Tyabji, S. C. Bhattacharjee and Narayana Rao.

In the evening he visited the Headquarters of the Rama Krishna Mission Society and also attended a meeting arranged by the Young Women's Temperance Union at the Jubilee Hall, a meeting at Fytche Square and the Arya Samaj Temple. All these functions were well attended.

*Page 296, para. 750—*

*From the Burma Secret Abstract, dated March 30, 1929, para. 384— C.I.D., Burma, March 23.—*Mahatma Gandhi accompanied by V. D. Mehta and Nanalal, left for Paungde on the night of the 14th March 1929. About 200 persons turned out to see them off at the Rangoon Railway Station and a few Indians also turned up at Insein and Letpadan Railway Station. Paungde was reached at about 4-30 a.m. the next day and there about 50 Indians gathered at the Railway Station to receive Gandhi. He was later conveyed in procession to the rice-mill of U. Turn Myaing and thence to the Sule Pagoda where he was presented with addresses of welcome by the Municipality, Wunthanus and the Konmaris and also with a purse of Rs. 5,000. About 1,500 persons, Burmans predominating, were present. In reply to the addresses Gandhi advised the Indians to study the language of the land of their adoption and to sympathize with Burmese aspiration. He advised the ladies to give up using foreign goods and all the people to avoid smoking and drinking. He told the chettyars that they had not subscribed as liberally as they should.

At 1-15 p.m. the party left for Prome in cars. At Shwedaung, *en-route*, Gandhi inspected handlooms. Prome was reached at 3 p.m. A public meeting was held in the maidan the same evening at which about 3,000 persons were present. In reply to the addresses presented Gandhi said that his object in visiting Burma was to collect money for the Khaddar fund and that owing to want of knowledge of local conditions he was unable to express any opinion or give any advice regarding the political situation in Burma, beyond telling them that he was firmly convinced that non-violent, non-co-operation was the only method by which to achieve emancipation. He also spoke on the importance of *charkha* and the drink evil and finally complained that the amount collected in Prome, viz., Rs. 6,000 was not large enough.



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The party left Prome the same night and arrived back in Rangoon on the morning of the 16th March 1929.

The party arrived back in Rangoon just in time for Gandhi to catch in 1-Up train to Mandalay. V. D. Mehta and Nanalal accompanied Gandhi to Mandalay.

On arrival of the train at Pegu, Gandhi was accorded a welcome at a pandal erected at the Railway Station and presented with a purse of Rs. 1,600. In reply to the address Gandhi advised the Indians to live in harmony with the Burmans and advocated the use of khaddar. About 1,500 persons were present. On arrival at Pyuntaza he was given a purse of Rs. 455. Gandhi spoke to the people from his carriage advising them to shun intoxicating drinks and gambling and to use khaddar. On arrival at Myitnge on the morning of the 17th about 2,000 Indian labourers of the Myitnge workshops gave Gandhi a rousing reception. Gandhi was taken in procession to the local Thakurbari where an address of welcome and a purse of Rs. 1,400 was presented to him. He replied briefly to the address, emphasizing the need for using khaddar.

The party left Myitnge by the 7-30 a.m. 5-Up train and on arrival at Shanzu was met by a crowd of about 1,000 persons and taken in procession through the town to the residence of C. V. Galliard where the party put up.

At 12-30 a.m. Gandhi visited the residence of Babu Motiram where about 500 Gujeratis had gathered to welcome him. He appealed for funds and in response received Rs. 4,000.

At 2 p.m. he attended a mass meeting held at the Eindawya Pagoda at which about 3,000 persons, including 300 pongyis, 600 Indians and 200 Ladies were present. In reply to the address, Gandhi gave a non-committal reply to the question raised as to the advisability of separation, saying that it was a question for Burmans alone to decide. He praised the pongyis for the part they played in the struggle for political emancipation and advocated the boycott of foreign cloth saying that the boycott of foreign goods was impracticable.

At 4 p.m. he visited the Young Men's Association, where he was accorded a welcome by the Bengali Community About 500 persons including 200 women were present. Speaking in Hindi, Gandhi advocated the use of khaddar and appealed for donations. A sum of Rs. 200 and some jewellery was collected.

At 4-30 p.m., the Mandalay Municipality and the Myanma Wunthanu Ahphwechok presented addresses of welcome to Gandhi in a specially erected Pandal near the south-west corner of the fort.

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5,000 persons, mostly Indians, were present. In his reply he said that he was reminded of the internment of Tilak, Lajpatrai and Subhash Bose in the Fort at Mandalay and that Indians would always look upon Mandalay as a place of pilgrimage ; in fact, that there was a saying current in India that the path towards *Swaraj* lay through Mandalay fort. He said that Indians were, however, of the opinion that the internment of the above leaders in no way delayed the political progress of India. The history of the world showed that no nation achieved freedom without sufferings or sacrifices. Further, he said that it would be gratifying if the Municipality could improve the condition of the city and give free education to the children. He reminded the people that freedom could not be obtained without exertion and said that he was pleased to note that his principles of non-violence and non-co-operation were accepted by the people. Finally, he appealed to the Indians for donations.

The 18th March was observed as a day of silence till 6 p.m., when Gandhi addressed another meeting, at the abovementioned pandal, attended by about 5,000 persons. U-Ba Shwe, speaking in Burmese, spoke about the separation movement.

Gandhi explained the doctrine of *Ahimsa* and said that out of fear of Government and its officials the people were prone to be untruthful. He also expressed surprise that Burmans were meat-eaters which was contrary to the tenets of Buddha.

Jewellery valued at Rs. 850 and a purse of Rs. 150 was collected.

Gandhi and party left Mandalay for Pyinmana at 10 p.m. on the 18th March 1929. A sum of Rs. 12,000 in all was collected at Mandalay.

On arrival at Pyinmana on the 19th evening, Gandhi was received by about 100 Indians and taken in a cart to the residence of Mr. Haldar.

At 6-30 p.m. at a ladies meeting he was presented with a purse of Rs. 500.

At 7-30 p.m., the Pyinmana Municipality presented him with an address of welcome in the Municipal Gardens. About 500 persons were present, including a large number of school children.

Later he was presented with another address and a purse of Rs. 2,700 at K. E. M. School Hall by the town-people. He replied jointly to the above two addresses. He congratulated the municipality for arranging for the supply of pure milk and for maintaining three High Schools but criticised it for not attending to the proper

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sanitation of the town. He advised the Indians to live in harmony with the Burmans and to use khaddar. A sum of Rs. 6,000 in all was collected at Pyinmana. The party left Pyinmana at 11 a.m. on the 20th and arrived at Toungoo at 3 p.m., the same afternoon. Chit Hnaing, Maunt Pu, Lal Mohan De, U-Maung Maung, Mr. Chowdhury and Mr. Muzamdar, pleaders, received the party at the Railway Station. Gandhi was taken to the residence of the last named pleader.

At 5-30 p.m. a mass meeting, attended by about 800 persons, including 300 Pongyis, 200 women and 3,000 Burmans, was held in a pandal specially erected.

The address of welcome, on behalf of the Toungoo Municipality, was presented by U-Nge, the President of the Municipality. Another address on behalf of the people was presented by Maung Pu.

Speaking in English, Gandhi expressed pleasure at seeing so many pongyis at meetings held in his honour. He described in grand eloquent terms his doctrine of "*Ahimsa*". He deplored the criminality of the province and appealed to the pongyis to remedy this sad state of affairs by using their influence and by example and precept. He also spoke against the drink evil.

A sum of about Rs. 5,300 was collected at Toungoo. At 8-55 the party entrained for Rangoon but broke journey at Kyauktaga where a purse of Rs. 600 was given to Gandhi and an address presented to him. About 2,000 persons were present. The address complained of the enhanced rate of land revenue the grantees of Kyauktaga were called upon to pay. Gandhi in reply said that not having studied the question he was unable to advise them in the matter. He pointed out however that they had the weapon of "*Satyagraha*" to resort to if necessary.

The party arrived back in Rangoon on the 20th March 1929.

Gandhi was presented with address of welcome and purse at the Gujarati Ladies meeting at the Ariff Hall, the Muslim Students, meeting, the Bengal Club and a labour meeting at Botataung. Gandhi and his party left for Calcutta by the S. S. Aronda on the 21st March 1929. A sum of Rs. 1,75,000 was collected in Burma.

*Page 205, para. 561—*

(1) *Ahmedabad, March 9.*—The news of M. K. Gandhi's arrest in Calcutta caused a certain amount of excitement in Ahmedabad, but as the news of his release soon followed nothing untoward happened and there was no demonstration.

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(2) *Belgaum, March 9.*—On March 6, a public meeting was held in Belgaum convened by the Belgaum District Congress Committee to arrange for a public bonfire of foreign cloth because of the arrest of M. K. Gandhi in Calcutta. About 1,200 people attended. H. S. Kowjalgi was elected to the chair, and emotional speeches were delivered by K. G. Gokhale, A. S. Dabade, G. B. Deshpande and G. V. Puranik. They blamed the Calcutta Police for arresting M. K. Gandhi, suggested that Government was nowadays afraid to deal openly with agitators, inveighed against the British Government generally and advocated the total exclusion of foreign cloth from the country as the most effective means of attaining *Swaraj*. As a result of their appeals to the audience, some 25 foreign made caps were collected in preparation for a bonfire to be made on March 10.

(3) *Dharwar, March 16.*—At a public meeting at Dharwar on March 7, attended by 500 people, Dr. N. S. Hardikar remarked— Some days back Mr. Pilcher, M. P., asked Earl Winterton, Under Secretary of State for India, what steps Government were taking to crush the Indian political movement. Earl Winterton replied that such action would be taken as would lead to the smooth working of the Government. M. K. Gandhi was now arrested. He was arrested because he burnt foreign cloth. It was against Government's interests. He disobeyed the Government order. Government was substituting ridicule for repression. Sambha Murti and K. P. Khadilkar were also arrested. The future of India was in the hands of the youth of India, who were the hope of the country. Therefore, youths should organise and agitate for the freedom of Mother India. India expects that every man should do his duty. Mahatma Gandhi was a great man; but the cause for which he stood was greater. Government may arrest Gandhi, but it could not destroy the principles taught by him. If they protested it would certainly bear fruit. If they wore Khaddar that was the proper protest. Khaddar alone would lead to Independence.

After discussing the arrangements to be made on March 10 the meeting terminated with the singing of the national song.

*Page 259, para. 673—*

(2) *Ahmedabad, March 30.*—M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Pyarelal L. Bindrabin, A. Subhaiya, Purshotamdas Narandas Gandhi, Navinchandra Vrajlal Gandhi and Mr. and Mrs. Ratilal Pranjivan Mehta came from Delhi to Ahmedabad on March 28.

Jairamdas Daulatram and N. V. Thadani arrived at Ahmedabad from Hyderabad on March 28 and put up at the Ashram.

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M. K. Gandhi, together with the following, left for Morvi on March 29 to attend a political conference :—A. Subhaiya, Pyarelal L. Bindrabin, Jairamdas Daulatram, N. V. Thadani, Narayan Ratan-chand, Malkani, Jamnadas Khushalchand Gandhi and Narandas Khushalchand Gandhi.

*Page 273, para. 710—*

(1) *Sind, C. I. D., Karachi, April 5th.*—The *Kesari* 6th instant, Swami Govindanand attacks Gandhi for defending himself in the Calcutta case and paying the fine and now advising the accused in the Meerut case not to defend themselves. "How" exclaims the Swami, "can you advise *Satyagraha* when you have destroyed it ? "

(2) *Bombay City S. B., April 6.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad on April 5. He was received at the Grant Road Railway Station by K. F. Nariman, Y. J. Meherali and about 10 other persons.

Under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, a public meeting was held at the Congress House on April 5, where he addressed an audience of about 500 people, on the importance of khaddar and the boycott of foreign cloth. He appealed to the audience to discard their foreign clothes as a token of their sincerity.

About 50 foreign caps and a few other clothes were thrown on the platform. At the close of the meeting the foreign-made clothes were burnt inside the Congress House Compound.

A gold ring was presented to him at this meeting and it was thrice auctioned ultimately fetching Rs. 446 in all.

He then opened the Umar Sobani Library in the newly erected building in the Congress House Compound.

He also opened the Khadi Bazar organised by the Bombay Youth League in the People's Jinnah Hall. The Bazar contained about 18 stalls of Khaddar and other Indian-made articles.

He then opened the Khadi Printing and Dyeing Work at 113, Girgaum Back Road.

After this he addressed another public meeting at Ranchhoddas Kanji's Wadi, Girgaum Back Road. About 700 people including about 50 ladies, were present. He made a short speech advocating the use of khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth. He also made an appeal for funds for the boycott propaganda. Several ladies threw their necklaces and other ornaments which were auctioned after the meeting. About Rs. 760 were realised. This amount together with Rs. 446 realised by the auction of the ring at the Congress House was given to the Boycott Propaganda Committee.

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He left for Hyderabad, Deccan, the same night *en route* to Madras.

(3) *Sholapur, April 6.*—M. K. Gandhi passed through Sholapur by train on his way to Hyderabad on April 6. He was met at the station by H. G. Salgarkar *alias* Kunjbihari and Vaikuntlal Thakor, the Manager of the old Mill, Sholapur.

*Page 291, para. 741—*

*Ahmedabad, April 6.*—On March 29, M. K. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and party, while on the way from Ahmedabad, stopped at Viramgaum where they met at the station by about 500 persons. Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Darbar Gopaldas Ambaidas Desai and Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir went into the town and held a meeting at which Vallabhbhai presided and the audience numbered about 700.

*Page 310, para. 781—*

*From the Madras Secret Abstract, dated April 20 and 27, 1929, paras. 782 and 848—Kistna, April 15.*—Gandhi and party arrived at Bonakal from Secunderabad on the 7th instant and visited Lingala and Jaggiapet the same day. On the 8th idem he visited Nadigama, where he delivered a speech in which he alluded to the filthy state of villages. He quoted a great man of his acquaintance, who had toured the country, who said that India was a "heap of dung". He exhorted young men to look to the sanitation, to give up drink, wear khaddar and to abolish untouchability.

On his way to Bezwada he visited some of the villages and received purses. The party arrived at Bezwada on the 9th instant. In the afternoon the party left for Nuzvid and later Gandhi visited some of the villages near-by and collected purses. He made speeches here and there on khaddar, the *charkha* and boycott of foreign cloth. They returned to Bezwada on the 10th idem. About 5,000 people attended a meeting held the same day when Gandhi rebuked the people for spending money on jewels, etc. He exhorted the people to work for *Swaraj* on non-violent lines and condemned the bomb outrage in the Assembly, which he said tended to retard the cause of *Swaraj*. He advocated teetotalism and suggested the organization of picketing. On the 11th Gandhi visited some of the villages round Bezwada and left for Vuyyur the same day. At Vuyyur, he addressed an audience of about 500 on the 12th instant and, after visiting some of the villages, arrived at Gudivada on the 13th idem. He left Gudivada the same day after visiting the villages round-about and arrived at Bandar the same day. Here Gandhi presided over a meeting of Gosha ladies. He was presented later with an address by Panchama students. He visited the National College grounds where the Chairman of the Municipality and others presented him with addresses. In reply Gandhi expressed the claims of khaddar.



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He deprecated the flocking to the Council and the Assembly to obtain *Swaraj*.

Most of the meetings held in honour of Gandhi were well attended but the people mostly came out of curiosity and his speeches do not appear to have created much impression. Nearly Rs. 36,000 were collected by him during his tour in Kistna District.

*Guntur, April 22.*—Gandhi and party entered the Guntur District on the 17th instant. All the political agitators of note in the district moved about with him. People gathered in large numbers in towns and villages but did not seem to evince any interest in the political aspect of the tour. Gandhi touched on khaddar and the boycott of foreign cloth, removal of untouchability, teetotalism, Hindu-Muslim unity and sanitation in most of his speeches.

The party arrived in Guntur on the 17th instant from Bezwada, and nearly 10,000 people were assembled near the pandal erected for Gandhi's reception. He was presented with four addresses and a purse of nearly Rs. 8,000. He then visited some institutions and schools in the town and was presented with purses and addresses.

The party left Guntur the same day and visited some of the villages round-about where they collected purses. Nearly 4,000 people met the party at Karemchedu and a purse of Rs. 1,880 was presented to Gandhi.

On the 18th Gandhi visited Thimmasumudram, Vettapalem Chirala, Bapatla and several other places near-by. On the 19th the party visited Kavur, Dehuli pudi and Repalli. An open air meeting was held at Repalli when a big gathering was present. He was presented with nearly Rs. 3,000 here. A small bonfire of foreign cloth was made by the side of the road. He also visited some other places round about and on the 20th left for Thurimella. After visiting places near-by the party proceeded to Tenali where nearly 6,000 people gathered at a meeting when a purse of Rs. 3,000 was presented. Gandhi unfurled the National flag at the National school the same day. The party then left for Guntur and on the 21st left for Narasaraopet.

*Page 352, para. 874—*

*From the Madras Secret Abstract, dated May 4, 1929, paras. 892 to 895 —*

*Kistna, April 23rd.*—M. K. Gandhi and party left Bandar on April 14 on tour and made speeches on foreign cloth, khaddar, untouchability, drink and gambling in various villages *en route*.

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People attended the meetings held in honour of M. K. Gandhi more out of curiosity and his speeches were scarcely discussed after the meetings were over.

It is reported that the total collections in Bezwada Nandigama, Nuzvid Talukas and in Bezwada town amounted to about Rs. 25,000.

The further tour was in the Guntur District. During his stay in this District M. K. Gandhi is reported to have collected about Rs. 40,000. His speeches were not objectionable and the people did not display much interest in his doctrines.

M. K. Gandhi and party passed through Bezwada by motor on April 23 on their way to Ellore (Kistna District).

M. K. Gandhi arrived at Ellore on April 23 after visiting some villages on his way from Bezwada.

At Nayudrugudem, Gandhi proceeded to the house of Ganapathy Sambhiah whose widowed daughter, aged 20 years, requested permission to be allowed to go and live at his Ashram at Ahmedatad. Gandhi persuaded her parents to send her after his tour was over. He delivered a lecture on widow marriages, equal rights for men and women, etc. The widowed girl offered all her jewels, worth Rs. 1,400 to Gandhi.

At Ellore (west Godavari) Gandhi attended a public meeting when about 5,000 people were present. He received several purses and in addition to speaking on his usual subjects he enlarged on the subjects of temple entry and untouchability.

*Page 392, para. 972—*

*From the Madras Secret Abstract, dated May 18, 1929, para. 976.—* M. K. Gandhi's tour in East Godavari and Nellore was a financial success, though his speeches, being devoid of anything sensational, created little impression, but he was listened to attentively. Except for the desire to see Gandhi, the audience did not seem to be enthusiastic to put into action what he preached.

In some case's the people in the villages were eagerly awaiting Gandhi's arrival and were disappointed that he stopped for a couple of minutes (in his car) just to take the collections. They evidently considered that they were not getting their money's worth and one or two are said to have expressed a feeling that it was " Plunder ".

*Page 411, para. 1013—*

*From the Madras Secret Abstract dated May 25, and June 1, 1929, Paras. 1024, and 1087.—* Gandhi's tour extended to East Godavari and Chittoor districts during the period under the review. It is reported



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that he expressed disappointment at the comparatively small collections in the delta districts, the public of which, it is said, were not satisfied with the short and stereotyped speeches and the abrupt termination of several meetings. The grounds of complaint appear to be interdependent.

*Vizagapatam, May 21.*—Gandhi and party arrived at Vizagapatam on the 28th April. Gandhi addressed a gathering of about 6,000 people the same evening and was presented with addresses by the municipality, district and taluka boards. A purse of Rs. 2,500 and some Jewels were also given.

Gandhi's speeches were of the usual type. The villagers were enthusiastic in the presence of Gandhi but after the visit they indicated an indifference and apathy to translate their enthusiasm into action. There is an indication now among the ordinary people that they are not prepared to take risks along with either interested or professional politicians.

*Page 411, para. 1014—*

*Bombay City S. B., May 26.*—A meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in Bombay at the Peoples' Jinnah Hall on May 24 and 25 under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru. About 300 people attended each day including about a hundred members of the All-India Congress Committee. The following were prominent : —

Dr. M. A. Ansari, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, C. V. Vaidya, Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Hari Sarvottam Rao, B. G. Horniman, H. L. Hutchinson, Mrs. Suhasini Nambiar, A Rangaswami Iyengar, S. Srinivas Iyengar, S. Satyamurti, Y. J. Meherally, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Jamnadas M. Mehta, Jamnalal Bajaj, N. C. Kelkar, K. F. Nariman, K. Natarajan, C. Y. Chintamani, Dr. Pattabi Sitaramayya, Raja Rao, Dr. D. D. Sathaye, Gangadhar B. Deshpande, Dr. B. S. Munje, T. Vishvanathan, Vallabhbai J. Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Daulatram, M. K. Gandhi attended on the 25th only.

The All-India Congress Committee session was expected to be a very lively one both by the members of the All-India Congress Committee as well as by the public in view of the proposal of the Tamil Nadu group that Congressmen should be allowed to accept office under Government. The excitement was kept up till the second day of the session when suddenly S. Satyamurti made the following declaration in the open session of the All-India Congress Committee : —

In view of the opposition that has been strongly expressed in the country against the proposal of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee for permission to the Council party to accept ministerships under

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certain conditions and also in view of the Viceregal pronouncement regarding the extension of the present term of the legislatures, we have decided not to press forward that proposal although the majority of the members of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee feel keenly about it.

The following resolutions have been passed : —

(1) Notwithstanding the fundamental differences in the policy and opinion between the Congress and Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala, and without committing itself, to his Communist policy, this Committee expresses its admiration for the brave and plucky fight that he is putting up against exploitation and imperialism in the face of the overwhelming odds and wishes him all success in his parliamentary campaign.

(2) The all-India Congress Committee shall have power to take the disciplinary action against : —

(a) any Committee of the Congress which deliberately acts against the declared policy of the Congress,

(b) any office-bearer of the Congress Committee who deliberately acts against the declared policy of the Congress.

(c) any member of the Congress Committee who is shown to the satisfaction of the All-India Congress Committee or its working Committee to have been responsible for embezzlement or gross mismanagement of public funds, or to have broken a pledge with the All-India Congress Committee or any Committee appointed by it.

(3) In the event of the Provincial Congress Committee not paying its annual contribution under Article IX of the constitution to the All-India Congress Committee within the date fixed by the latter the All-India Congress Committee Members representing the defaulting province shall be debarred from participating in meetings of the Committee.

(4) This Committee resolves that a Budget be prepared by the Working Committee of the expenditure and income of the All-India Congress Committee for the latter's approval each year not later than May.

(5) That a Congress Manual be prepared and published embodying authoritative chapters on the various political, administrative and cultural problems comprised by the *Swaraj* movement and that the All-India Congress Committee do incur the necessary expenditure therefore, and that the work be entrusted to the Working Committee.

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(6) This Committee authorises the Working Committee of the Congress to consider the question of reallocation of States that are now attached to the Province of Ajmer.

(7)(a) This Committee congratulates the Indians in East Africa on their maintaining cordial relationship with the East Africans and trusts that they will continue to maintain those relations and recognise the interests of the original inhabitants to the superior to all other interests.

(b) This Committee assures the Indians in Kenya of every support in their struggle for the achievement of a political and economical equality in East Africa.

(8) This Conference recommends to the All-India Congress Committee that in the opinion of this Conference the great poverty and misery of Indian people are due not only to the foreign exploitation of India but also to the economic structure of society which the alien rulers support so that their exploitations may continue. In order therefore, to remove his poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses, it is essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities. Provisions should be made for providing a living wage for every worker, to tax heavily all unearned incomes, to supply adequate land to the peasants, and to protect them from the interference of all middlemen.

(9) This Committee having heard of an important pronouncement from the President regarding the communique of the Governor-General for extending the life of the Legislative Assembly, realises the gravity of the situation, and, in order to enable the country promptly to take such action as may be necessary to meet the exigencies of the situation, authorises the Working Committee to adopt such measures as it may consider fit in the interest of the country, as regards the action to be taken by the members of the Council party in the Assembly and in the Provincial Councils.

(10) (Moved by M. K. Gandhi). In view of the campaign of repression, which the British Government is carrying on all over the country, as evidenced by the conviction of Mr. Sambamurti, a member of the Working Committee, and many other national workers, and by the wholesale arrests and barbarous treatment to the members of the All-India Congress Committee and to the labour leaders and workers, now awaiting their trial at Meerut, and the unwarranted house searches and the wanton confiscation of Dr. Sunderlands's "History of the British Rule in India", this Committee is of opinion that the nation should be prepared for

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efficient resistance by such methods as would make the resistance as nation-wide as possible. The Committee thinks this would be impossible unless the whole Congress organisation was reconstructed on a satisfactory basis. This Committee, therefore, calls upon the heads of the provincial organisations to reconstruct their respective provinces, so as to fulfil the following minimum requirements: —

The Provincial organisations shall have not less than one-fourth of their total population as their original number, and not less than fifty per cent. represent them. The district organisations shall have not less than one per cent of their total population as their original number, and not less than fifty per cent to represent them. The Tahsil organisations shall have not less than one per cent of their total population as their original number, and not less than ten per cent, to represent them. The village organisations shall have not less than three per cent. of their total population as the original number. For the Provinces of Bombay and Delhi, original number shall not be less than three per cent of their respective total populations. For the Province of Burma, the Working Committee shall instruct as may appear to it reasonable, after consulting the workers in the province. It is recognised by this Committee that if the local Committee does not satisfy the foregoing test by 31st August 1929, the Working Committee should disaffiliate any organisation that does not carry out the instructions issued from time to time either by the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee.

(11) The All-India Congress Committee notes with sorrow and indignation the ruthless repression recently adopted by the Punjab Government against the Congress Workers, which gave rise to a strong suspicion that it is done with a view *inter alia* to interfere with the preparations that were going on in the Punjab for the forthcoming Congress session. The Committee notes with satisfaction that this repression has in no way damped the zeal of workers and hopes for the success of the movement they are carrying on. D. Kullande, Advocate, Madras, wanted to move the following resolution: —

" In view of the disciplinary resolution passed yesterday, the All-India Congress Committee does take a disciplinary action that may be feasible, under the circumstances, against Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President, for attending the Viceregal Tea Party at Delhi and against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for having organised a Tea Party in honour of the Viceroy in spite of the Congress ban on such functions " ; but the President ruled it out of order as early notice of the motion was not given to the All-India Congress Committee of the Working Committee.

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At the close of the second day's proceedings Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced that the Working Committee had sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1,500 for the defence of the accused in the Meerut Case.

*Page 414, para. 1015—*

(5) *Bombay City, S. B., May 26.*—A Meeting of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee was held in Bombay on May 23 and 24 at M. K. Gandhi's residence at Laburnum Road, Gamdevi. Amongst those present were M. K. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari, Pandit Nehru, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Satish Chandra Das Gupta and Jairamdas Daulatram. The Committee co-opted Jamnalal Bajaj, Vallabhbhai J. Patel and Satish Chandra Das Gupta as members and appointed Jamnalal Bajaj as the Treasurer of the Committee. The Meeting adopted the report and the statement of accounts submitted by Jairamdas Daulatram and passed the following resolutions:—

(a) The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee notes the response made by the people in the course of the last three months to the programme of boycott of foreign cloth laid down by the Working Committee and urges all Congress Committees and other organisations co-operating in the boycott campaign to carry out that programme with even greater vigour during the remaining part of the year.

(b) The Committee suggests that in accordance with the fresh programme organised efforts should be made by the above organisations to concentrate on, (1) organising propaganda parties for touring outside large town, (2) arranging house-to-house visits for converting people to the boycott of foreign cloth, (3) holding of public meetings where house-to-house propaganda is not feasible, (4) selling of khadi as often during each week as possible, (5) collecting sufficient funds to run small khadi depots wherever necessary, (6) organising street propaganda and Nagar Kirtan parties on every Sunday and Wednesday in the week, (7) engaging of special boycott activity on the first Sunday of each month, i.e., 2nd June, 7th July, 4th August and 1st September, (8) arranging requisitions for special meetings of local bodies which have not so far considered the suggestions made by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee for securing their co-operation in the Boycott campaign, (9) posting weekly reports of foreign cloth boycott work, (10) observing 2nd October 1929, as foreign cloth boycott day.

*Page 418, para. 1023—*

*Bombay City, S. B., May 27.*—The second session of the Indian States Peoples Conference was held in Bombay on May 25 and 26 at the Royal Opera House under the presidentship of C. Y.

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Chintamani. About 800 people, including about 200 delegates from the various States were present each day. The following were prominent: —

M. K. Gandhi, N. C. Kelkar, Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, S. Satyamurti, Jamnalal Bajaj, L. R. Tairsee, K. F. Nariman, Dr. Sumant Mehta, D. G. Dalvi, Wamanrao Naik, Sardar Sardul Singh, Atiya Begum, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, K. Natrajan and Jamnadas M. Mehta.

The proceedings commenced with the speech of G. R. Abhyankar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, who said that neither the Butler Committee nor the Simon Commission had touched the internal aspects of the problems of the Indian States with which the subject of the Native States were vitally concerned. In his opinion the Civil list should be determined regard being had to the immediate wants of a ruler and to the income of the State. He added that people in every State should expose the jugglery of the budget figures and also expose the real amount which a ruler spent for his private purposes. He concluded with the remarks that if the ruler did not accept the fixed Civil list, they should demand his removal from the paramount power.

Messages of sympathy from Lord Oliver, Colonel Wedgwood, Messrs. Lansbury, Rutherford, Polak, Sir Vishweshwar Ayer, Sir. C. P. Ramaswamy and Sir Lallubhai Samaldas were then read.

On the proposal of S. Satyamurti, seconded by Sardul Singh and supported by Jamnalal Bajaj, Waman Naik, Miss Sarada Mehta and L. R. Tairsee, C. Y. Chintamani was elected to preside over the Conference. C. Y. Chintamani then read out his printed address, strongly condemning the Butler Committee's report. He suggested that the important organisations in British India as well as in the Native States, such as the Indian National Congress, the National Liberal Federation and the Indian States Peoples Conference should meet together and draw up a scheme of federal constitution for India. He regarded the Butler report as a blow to the legitimate rights of the Princes and the people of India. He described the Butler Committee's report as bad in its origin, bad in the time chosen for its appointment, bad in its terms of reference, bad in its personnel and bad in its line of inquiry. Finally he requested the ruling Princes of the Indian States to invite a few leading public men of British India and Indian States to confer with them as to the best means of bringing about a Federal Union.

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Some of the more interesting Resolutions passed are given below: —

(1) Expressing its strong condemnation of the method and manner in which the Indian States Committee conducted its proceedings. The Committee should have afforded to the people of the Indian States the same facilities as it afforded to the princes for placing their views before the Committee ; and the fact that the enquiry was held in camera has made the report one sided, utterly unacceptable and valueless.

(2). Urging that for the speedy attainment of *Swaraj* for India as a whole, the Indian States should be brought into constitutional relations with British India.

(3) (a) Condemning the recommendations of the Butler Committee that the relations of the Indian States should be directly with the Crown through the Viceroy and not with the Government of India.

(b) In the opinion of this Conference, such a proposal to partition India into two separate halves with a divided allegiance will have a mischievous effect upon the progress of the country as a whole, and, in particular, of the States.

(4) Inviting furtherance of the united national demand for Responsible Government and for a Federal Government for the whole of India the co-operation of the political organisations of British India, and begging to offer its co-operation to them on a Joint National Committee representative of both the States and the Provinces.

(5) Urging that the Political Department should contain a strong Indian element.

(6)(a) Urging on the Rulers of States that representative institutions be established in their States on an elective basis for Local Self-Government and for the purpose of legislation, taxation and control of general administration.

(b) The Budget of State should be presented to and voted upon by the Legislative Councils with a majority of elected members upon them.

(c) The amount of the Privy Purse should be fixed by the Legislature, subject to revision every five years.

(d) There should be an independent audit of the accounts of the States.

(e) There should be an independent judiciary separated entirely from the Executive and that the personal intervention of the Princes in the administration of justice should cease absolutely.



(7) Declaring strong faith in self-reliant efforts as the most proper and effective means for the amelioration of the condition of the people, and resolving that organisations may be started in the States to do constructive work in the shape of Co-operative societies, khaddar, temperance, the uplift of the backward classes and the establishment of village *panchayats*.

(8) Resolving to appoint an Executive Committee of seventy members with powers to co-opt, thirty members to carry out the

resolutions of the Conference and to promote the objects of the Conference till the next session. The Working Committee to have twelve members.

(9) Calling upon every Ruling Prince in India to immediately introduce compulsory military training in the educational institutions of the States.

*Page 468, para. 1138-B—*

*Ahmedabad, June 15.*—Jogeshchandra Jaminchandra Pal and Sohanlal Ghanshammal, described as students of the Prem Mahavidyalaya, Bindrabin, came to the Ashram on June 7.

Miss Khurshed (father's name not known, but described as a grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji) came to the Ashram on June 10.

The following accompanied M. K. Gandhi on June 11 when he set out for his tour in Almorah:—Miss Slade, Pyarelal Bindrabin, Miss Khurshed, Miss Jamna (father's name not known) of Bombay, and Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi.

*Page 481, para. 1157—*

*From the Madras Secret Abstract, dated June 22, 1929, para. 1180— Vizagapatam, June 12.*—The *Andhra Patrika* of the 4th instant has published an appeal issued by Marepalle Ramchandra Sastri and Tannetiviswanadham as President and Secretary respectively of the Vizagapatam District Congress Committee. It is interesting as an admission of the general disappointment at Gandhi's visit.

The following is a translation: —

Appeal to the people of Vizagapatam—Mahatma Gandhi liked this district better than all the other districts which he visited in his recent tour. We should rejoice at this even though he did not visit all the important places in the district and did not satisfy all the people by his visits. He could not visit every place and could not stay sufficiently long even in the places which he did



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visit. Many people might have been disappointed and dissatisfied, but if you take into consideration that he started his tour in the Andhra Desh on 8th April 1929 and travelled at the rate of about 90 to 100 miles a day, there will be no ground for your dissatisfaction. Konda Venkatappaya had to undertake to complete the tour within the fixed time and for that reason the tour had to be done in a hurry.

We must forget such disappointment and dissatisfaction and try to put into force the resolutions passed at the All-India Congress Committee. Then we shall be benefited a thousand times.

According to the All-India Congress Committee resolution we must make a quarter of the population of the District Congress Members. At least half the number of villages should be represented in the Taluka Congress Committees. At least 3 per cent of the population of every village should be enlisted as Congress members.

*Page 517, para. 1239—*

*From the United Provinces, Secret Abstract, dated June 22, 1929, paras. 340-43 (b), (d) and (j)—340.—*Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his party arrived in Bareilly on June 13, and in connection with his visit well-attended meetings have been held at Bareilly, Haldwani, Naini Tal, Bhowali, Tarikhet and Almora. The approximate sums realized by him for the khaddar fund are as follows: —

Bareilly Rs. 1,700, Haldwani Rs. 600, Kathgodam Rs. 250, Naini Tal about Rs. 7,000, Bhowali Rs. 2,000, Tarikhet Rs. 600, Ranikhet Rs. 900.

On June 13 an address of welcome was presented to him at the Municipal Office, Bareilly. The address was read by Radhe Shyam, Vice-Chairman of municipal board. The attendance is said to have been about 6,000, including few Mahommadans. Gandhi said that everywhere he heard complaints of communal quarrels. He wished that the condition of the country might become as it had been in 1921 as *Swaraj* could not be achieved without Hindu-Muslim unity.

A public meeting was subsequently held at which the attendance was about 10,000. A speaker, whose name has not been reported, announced that the citizens had wished to present a purse of Rs. 5,000 but owing to scarcity and other reasons had been able to raise' only Rs. 1,650. Gandhi said that his voice was weak and that he himself was not in a condition to undertake long tours, but he was obliged to wander in order to get money; the amount presented was too small and he expected more on his return. The meeting was terminated by rain.

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*Naini Tal.*—At the flats a meeting was held. The attendance has been estimated at about 5,000 but people came and went during the proceedings. Addresses were presented on behalf of the Naini Tal municipal and district boards and a purse of Rs. 3,100 was presented for the khaddar fund. Gandhi said that he had no liking for delivering speeches, but in order to obtain money would make one. The amount presented to him was quite inadequate and he hoped that those present would empty their pockets. He was distressed to learn that the population had decreased from three lakhs to two. The chief cause of this in his opinion was the discouragement of the woollen industry and the liking of the people for foreign and mill-made cloth. He then reminded the people of the Congress programme and laid special stress on the boycott of foreign cloth and the avoidance of intoxicants, also Hindu-Muslim unity, which was necessary for *Swaraj*, the removal of untouchability, and the enlistment of Congress members. Finally he made a strong appeal for funds and asked the ladies to hand over ornaments. A collection was made by volunteers and the two caskets in which addresses had been presented were auctioned, one being bought by the Raja of Mankapur for Rs. 100 and the other by Trilok Singh for Rs. 130.

At Almora he was received by Mr. Oakley, Principal of the Ramsay High School, and Chairman of the municipal board. Victor Mohan Joshi was also present. Mr. Oakley read an address and was complimented by Mr. Gandhi on his knowledge of Hindi. He, himself had come to get money and if the people of Almora wished him to recoup his health they should join Congress. He would reserve further remarks for a public meeting to be held shortly when he hoped that the people would come with money. About 4,000 persons are said to have been present.

*Page 537, para. 1286—*

*From the United Provinces Secret Abstract, dated June 29, 1929, para. 358.*—Mr. Gandhi has completed his tour in the hills and is now resting for a week. At Almora he received Rs. 700 from the ladies, Rs. 3,200 from the public and Rs. 862 collected by Badri Dutt, Chiranji Lal and others, apparently on behalf of the Swaraj party. At Bageshwar he received Rs. 675. A newspaper report gives his total receipts in Almora District as Rs. 10,000. He addressed one meeting of 4,000 persons at Almora and three or four smaller meetings.

*Page 551, para. 1324—*

*From the United Provinces Secret Abstract, dated July 6, 1929, para 376.*—Mr. M. K. Gandhi has been resting during the week at Kausani. It is estimated that in the course of his tour in the

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Kumaun division, he has collected money and jewellery amounting to about Rs. 18,000. He was presented with addresses. Mr. Gandhi in replying to the addresses expressed his thanks for the purse but remarked on its leanness. He congratulated the workers of the Prem Sabha and Gaushala on their work for the cause of Hindi and cow protection. He then turned to his audience and asked them to use khaddar and become members of the Congress. The Swadeshi movement, he said, was the only means of removing the poverty of Indians and forcing Government to come to terms; *Sangathan* and the total boycott of foreign cloth would achieve their aims. The Calcutta Congress had given Government a year in which to come to terms. He could not say what action Congress would take if Government proved obdurate. It might stop payment of taxes but in order to ensure success of any kind, a very strong *Sangathan* would be needed. He therefore advised his hearers to enroll themselves in the Hindustani Seva Dal and to become members of Congress. In conclusion he informed the young men in the meeting that a Youth League had been established in the country and that its Provincial Conference would be held in Lucknow in the near future. He asked all young men to enrol themselves in this league and to attend the conference.

*From the United Provinces Secret Abstract, dated July 13, 1929, para. 394.*—Mr. Gandhi's tour in the Kumaun division came to an end on July 4 with his visit to Kashipur, where he was given a warm reception and received a purse of Rs. 1,100. From Kashipur he went with his party to Moradabad the same day, and after pausing for a few hours proceeded by train to Delhi. There was little popular demonstration in Moradabad and no speeches were made.

*Page 552, para. 1327*—

*From the Delhi Secret Abstract, dated July 6, 1929, para. 173.*— Among the points of discussion at the meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee held at Dr. Ansari's house on the 5th July, were the following points which were not reported by the press:—

(1) The question of Patel's successor was discussed, and the names of Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were put forward. Gandhi refused on the grounds of old age, and supported Jawaharlal Nehru. This was agreed to by all present.

(2) It was decided that the Congress members should resign their seats in the councils, subject to the approval of the All-India Congress Committee.

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*Page 574, para. 1376—*

*Ahmedabad, July 27.*—Devadas, son of M. K. Gandhi went from Ahmedabad to Bardoli on July 21, returned to Ahmedabad on July 24 and left for Allahabad with his father the same night. P. Bindrabin also went with them.

*Page 602, para. 1422—*

*Bombay City, S. B., August 1.*—In response to an appeal made by the Propaganda Committee of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Matunga, the students observed a hartal on the 31st July 1929, which was the anniversary day of the students struggle against the authorities, refusal to allow the portrait of M. K. Gandhi to be woven in the School.

About 200 students collected on the road opposite the institute and were addressed by Pushkernath Shreenath Trivedi and Bhagirthiprasad Balubhai Joshi (Ex-students). They were, however, dispersed by the police as the meeting was held in contravention of the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate prohibiting an assembly of more than 5 persons on any public road. The students then marched to the compound of Velji Lakhmsey Napoo's Bungalow and continued their meeting. The following resolutions were passed:--

(1) Condemning the letter written by the Chairman to Turner, the Principal, refusing permission to the students to weave Gandhi's portrait last year.

(2) Resolving to start a students' union and appointing a committee for that purpose.

(3) Resolving to appeal to the various industrial bodies in the city to approach Government with a request to appoint an Enquiry Committee to look into the affairs of the Victoria Jubilee Technical institute.

After the meeting the students quietly dispersed. Only about 13 students attended the institute and the classes went on in spite of the hartal.

*Page 616, para 1450—*

*From the United Provinces, Secret Abstract, dated August 3, 1929, para. 441—C.I.D. S.B., United Provinces*—On July 26 and 27 the All-India Congress Committee met at Allahabad. There were present 175 delegates representing all provinces except Assam. There were 80 from the United Provinces 30 from Bengal, 15 from Bihar and Orissa, 5 from Madras, 4 from Burma, 7 from the Central Provinces, 4 from Berar, 10 from Ajmer, 10 from the Punjab, and 5 from Delhi. Receipts from the sale of tickets to delegates and

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visitors are estimated to have been about Rs. 1,200. Students formed the majority of the visitors. Prominent among the delegates from the United Provinces were Narain Prasad Arora, Ram Prasad Misra, Harihar Nath Sastri, Rama Shankar Awasthi of Cawnpore, Sri Krishna Dutta Paliwal of Agra, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru of Allahabad, Surendra Nath Mukherji of Benares, and Mohan Lal Saxena of Lucknow.

The Subjects Committee consisting of the members of the Working Committee and selected Delegates from all Provinces met in the " Anand Bhawan " on the morning of July 26 to consider the question of the boycott of legislatures. The consensus of opinion in Bombay, Andhra, Karnatak, Delhi and Burma favoured the boycott, while the Maharashtra, United Provinces, Bengal and Madras were against it. A middle course, leaving the matter undecided until the Annual session of the Congress at Lahore, was suggested by Kerala. Before the meeting there was brisk canvassing by the United Provinces and Bengal delegates, but they failed to move the opposition. The question was introduced in committee by J. N. Sen-Gupta who put forward as a motion the resolution originally passed by the Standing Committee of the Bengal Congress Party and endorsed by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, namely, that the effect of withdrawal from the Councils would be to hamper the constructive programme of Congress and strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy. In pleading the case of those not in favour of withdrawal he remarked that once before Councils had been boycotted and this action had proved futile. This motion was seconded by Subhash Chandra Bose who claimed that recent Council elections had so far strengthened the position of Congress in the Bengal Legislature, that withdrawal could only discredit them in the eyes of the people, and this, at a time when they were preparing the country for the great struggle for liberty in which the concerted action of the masses was an essential factor, could ill be risked. The motion was further supported by Balkrishna Sharma and Harihar Nath Sastri of the United Provinces, who spoke in much the same strain. Support also came from the Madras and Central Provinces members. For the opposition Sham Sunder Chakravarti and Chandra Dutt Pandey delivered lengthy speeches laying particular stress on the principle that to divide one's energies is to risk defeat; with only five months before them to prepare the country for non-co-operation, Civil Disobedience, non-payment of taxes and similar steps it was essential that Congress workers should resign their seats and give their whole attention to the work of preparation. Dr. Muhammad Alam and T. A. K. Sherwani spoke in support of the opposition. The debate exercise but little

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influence on the preconceived opinions of those present; neither side was prepared to give way in the least, and in the end a complete deadlock was only avoided by Mr. Gandhi's proposal for a compromise. He spoke at some length of the need for unity and expressed his regret at the dissociation of Mahommadans from the Congress. At such a time, he said it was essential to present a united front, and he asked those present to support him in his efforts to discover a means to a compromise, and thus avoid a further split.

Sardar Sardul Sing " Kavishwar " of the Punjab moved resolution in appreciation of the patriotic spirit of the accused in the Lahore case, sympathising with them on account of their hunger-strike, and condemning the policy of the Punjab Government as in-human. Pandit Motilal Nehru opposed the form of this motion on the ground that it was against the creed of Congress to appreciate violence, and although Dr. Muhammad Alam pointed out the necessity of giving some sort of encouragement to the people of the Punjab, the Pandit stuck to his point. Ultimately, the motion was re-drafted and passed without further discussion.

Mr. Gandhi was not present at the open session of the Congress on July 26. He with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Moulana Abul Kalam, Mrs. Naidu and others devoted themselves to informal discussions of the thorny question of Council representation. No definite agreement was, however, reached, and Mr. Gandhi promised to give his considered opinion the following day.

On the morning of July 27 the Subjects Committee again met in " Anand Bhawan ". Mr. Gandhi made his proposal for a compromise, and, notwithstanding the continued opposition of the boycott diehards, it was adopted. The dissentients, however, gave notice that they would oppose it in open session.

Subash Chandra Bose moved a resolution condemning the repressive Policy of the Bengal Government at Barisal, as exhibited in the arrest of Satindra Nath Sen and his comrades under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code. This was passed without discussion.

N. M. Ghatwai then put forward a motion to congratulate Bhagatsingh and B. K. Dutt on their patriotic spirit. Pandit Motilal Nehru again raised an objection to the language of the motion, and expressed his surprise at its wording, in view of the ruling given at the previous day's meeting. Neither contestant seemed willing to give ground in the least and Harihar Nath Sastri therefore moved a similar resolution, couched in slightly different terms and modified by the expression " while adhering to the principles of non-violence ". The President overruled this as being



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inconsistent; Congress, he said, could not at one and the same time adhere to the principle of non-violence and express its appreciation of violence. The movers then gave notice that they would bring the matter before the open session, and when the President replied that he would overrule them, they said they would take their chance and would at any rate force the matter on the attention of the public.

On July 26, at the first public session of the All-India Congress Committee in the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, there were some 500 persons including Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Chintamani, Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Dr. Mohammad Alam of Lahore and Sardar Sardul Singh "Kavishwar" of Lahore. Pandit Motilal Nehru, who presided, after asking the audience to confirm the minutes of the Bombay meeting of the Committee held on May 24 and 25 moved a resolution of condolence on the death of the late Honourable Justice Pandit Gokaran Nath Mishra, formerly General Secretary of the Congress. This resolution was passed with all present standing Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in reply to a short address of welcome by the president, gave a short account of her travels in foreign countries, and said that there would be no peace in the world until the flag of India flew among those of the other free people of the world. Jawaharlal Nehru, referring to the absence of several members of the Committee from the meeting, said that some were busy holding a private meeting for the purpose of discovering a way out of the boycott dead-lock, and others had been confined in jail by the foreign Government. Dr. Ansari of Delhi then put forward a motion to congratulate the public of the Punjab on the arrest of their leaders and workers. He referred to the methods of the British Government as barbarous, and said that the present policy of Government was directed to creating an atmosphere of terror to prevent a successful meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Lahore. He drew a harrowing picture of the methods adopted in jail for the forcible feeding of the accused in the Lahore case, and said that the present methods of repression and terrorism employed by Government would force the young men of the Country to extreme measures notwithstanding efforts made by responsible persons to restrain them. He called on his audience to unite. Dr. P. C. Roy (B. C. Roy) in a short speech expressed his doubts as to the benefits of forcible feeding as administered in the jails of this Country, and urged Dr. Ansari to seek medical advice on this point, not in the interests of the persons concerned or of the country, but in the interest of the medical profession. Any evidence of inhumanity should be brought to the notice of the public. Sardar Sardul Singh of Lahore, in supporting the resolution expressed

himself in very strong terms, stigmatizing those who carried out the forcible feeding as savages and murderers, devoid of feeling and humanity, who forcibly dashed the prisoners heads on the ground and bruised their hands and arms. He said that this method of feeding was employed not for the benefit of the prisoners but to terrorize them. He related the circumstances attending the arrest at Lahore of seven volunteers who shouted " Down with Imperialism " and " Long live revolution", alleging that at the first attempt to arrest them 50 policemen armed with lathis had beaten them like cotton, while on the second day their arrest had been effected without difficulty. The Punjab, he said, was the last of all to come under British rule and, God, willing, it would be first to declare independence. Dr. Muhammad Alam of Lahore supported the resolution in an Urdu Speech of more moderate tone, in which he repeated that the present policy of the Punjab Government was to prevent the success of the Lahore session of the Congress. He felt sure that notwithstanding all efforts to the contrary the session would be most successful. He had no doubt that, if Congress should require it the people of the Punjab after December 31 would wholeheartedly sacrifice both life and property. The spirit of Bhagatsingh and Dutt was accomplishing a work that could not be done by any other means. This resolution was passed unanimously. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in closing the meeting quoted the figures for Congress members enlisted throughout the country up to the end of April. They numbered about two and a half lakhs and included the following provincial totals :—

Ajmer and Rajputana	14,549
Andhra	4,531
Bihar	30,948
Bengal	59,980
Burma	300
Central Provinces	3,711
Bombay City	4,300
Gujarat	6,380
Karnatak	800
Maharashtra	1,410
North West Frontier	410
Sindh	1,568
Tamil Nad	4,498
United Provinces	1,200



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At the meeting on July 27, Mr. Gandhi moved a resolution of compromise in the matter of boycott of the legislatures. Speaking in Hindi he said that personally he was in favour of Council entry but that, in the interest of the service of the country, would yield to the orders of the All-India Congress Committee. It was above all necessary at this juncture to avoid any kind of disunion in the Congress ranks. The resolution gave members the option of leaving the Councils at any time up to the time of the Lahore meeting of the Congress. In this five months that remained before the decision must be made as to the action to be taken by Congress in the event of Dominion Status not being granted, there was much to be done, and no pains should be spared to prepare the country for the attainment of the Congress objective. This motion was seconded by Subhash Chandra Bose who remarked that this compromise had been adopted merely for the sake of avoiding dissension at this stage. Shyam Sunder Chakravarti of Burma strongly deprecated the harm that must result from such a policy of procrastination, and moved an amendment urging those present to reject the compromise in favour of total boycott. Chandra Nath Pande, a United Provinces delegate, raised a storm of protest by comparing Mr. Gandhi with the cows which Mahommadans are said to have placed in front of their armies in ancient times knowing that the Hindus would not shoot at them. He refused to withdraw his words and requested those who did not wish to hear him to leave the hall. In essence, his speech was similar to that of Shyam Sunder Chakravarti. One to two more short speeches were made, but when finally Shyam Sundar Chakravarti's amendment was put to the vote it was rejected by a large majority and Mr. Gandhi's motion of compromise was carried.

A resolution condemning the policy of repression adopted by the Government of Bengal in Barisal District and congratulating Satindra Nath Sen and his comrades on their protracted suffering was carried unanimously.

At this stage the president rose to rule out of order the next two motions relating to Bhagatsingh and Dutt as the Congress creed rendered inadmissible any sympathy with acts of violence.

Jawaharlal Nehru then informed the meeting that representations from the Strikers Union at Jamshedpur had been handed over to a Working Committee for inquiry, and closed the proceeding.

*Page 624, para. 1471—*

*Ahmedabad, August 3—*

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Pyarelal Bindrabin, who left with M. K. Gandhi for Allahabad on July 24, returned to Ahmedabad on July 30 with him.

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*Page 643, para. 1507—*

*Bombay City S. B., August 17.*—M. K. Gandhi arrived in Bombay on August 11 and had friendly conversation with Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Ali Brothers regarding Hindu-Muslim relationship. It is learnt that Gandhi urged upon Jinnah and the Ali brothers the urgent necessity of taking some action to bring about a rapprochement between the two communities. Jinnah replied that he was always ready to what he could do to achieve that end. He, however, pointed out that the majority of the Musalmans were not prepared to accept the recommendations of the Nehru Report, and that the Sikh community had also expressed its dissatisfaction at it. Jinnah and the Ali Brothers are reported to have urged upon Gandhi the necessity of prevailing upon Pandit Motilal Nehru and his supporters to accede to the modest demands of Musalmans.

*Page 648, para. 1525—*

*Ahmedabad, August 17.*—Pyarelal Bindrabin of the Ashram accompanied M. K. Gandhi to Bombay on August 10 and returned on August 12.

*Page 676, para. 1597—*

*Bandra, September 7.*—On September 7, M. K. Gandhi visited Vile Parle, and opened a "Khadi Bazar" at the National School. About 1,000 people were present and Gandhi spoke a few words in Gujarati, advising the audience to use swadeshi cloth and to encourage national education, by which alone *Swaraj* could be obtained. A sum of Rs. 106-4-0 was handed to Gandhi at the meeting on behalf of the National School by one Gokulbhai Daulat-ram. In the afternoon, Gandhi visited the Tilak Mandir at Vile Parle, but made no speech. He was accompanied by Miss Slade.

The Khadi Bazar was held for two days on September 8 and 9.

*Page 686, para. 1626—*

*Ahmedabad, August 24.*—Bipin Chandra Pal, with his Private Secretary, came to Ahmedabad from Bombay on August 18. He stayed with Seth Ambalal Sarabhai. On August 19 he saw M. K. Gandhi at the Ashram and the same evening spoke at a meeting on the present political situation. He left the same evening for Bhavnagar.

*Page 710, para. 1677—*

(a) *Ahmedabad, September 7.*—Miss Slade, Mrs. M. K. Gandhi and Pyarelal Bindrabin left with Mr. M. K. Gandhi for Bombay on September 6.

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(b) *Bombay City S. B., September 9.*—M. K. Gandhi, accompanied by Mrs. Gandhi, Jamnalal Bajaj and Mirabai *alias* Miss Slade, arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad on September 7. The Party left the same day for Bhopal.

*Page 728, para. 1704—*

*Extract of para. 547, from the United Provinces Secret Abstract dated the 14th September 1929.*—Congress activities for the week were in the main concerned with Mr. Gandhi's tour. A press report reveals the fact that only 60,000 out of the stipulated provincial total of over one lakh of Congress members have been enrolled up to the end of August, and that only 13 out of the 46 districts have completed their quota. Eleventh hour efforts to raise enrolments to the requisite figures are reported from several districts, but nowhere is there evidence of any real popular enthusiasm for the Congress cause. Public meetings are reported from eleven districts with attendances ranging up to 500. Two meetings in Meerut on September 4 and 5 to protest against the resolution of the College Board to prevent students from participating in political demonstrations attracted audience of about 900 and 600 respectively, consisting for the most part of Young men ; the speeches, with the exception of that of J. B. Kirpalani, were moderate in tone, and from the attitude of the general body of the students it was obvious that they had no desire to commit themselves to any definite action. A resolution was passed for the formation of the students union and for the wearing of khaddar on September 23 by way of demonstration. The Agra College students have collected Rs. 1,000 for Mr. Gandhi.

*Page 728, para. 1705—*

*From the Madras Secret Abstract, dated September 21, 1929, para. 1541—*

It is also reported that Gandhi had issued instructions to leaders very recently asking them to be careful in their speeches and not to risk being sent to jail, as he will require their services to commence at the end of the year and does not want to be left to carry out the struggle alone.

*Page 728, para. 1705-A—*

*From the Central India Agency Secret abstract dated the 10th September, 1929, para. 184.*—Gandhi, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and party arrived in Bhopal on the 8th September. They were given enthusiastic reception by the State officials and the public of Bhopal and were treated as State guests. Gandhi addressed a public meeting and received a purse containing Rs. 1,035. The party left for Agra on the 10th September 1929.

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*Page 754, para. 1749-A—*

*From the Central Provinces Secret Abstract dated September 21, 1929, para. 462—Nimar, September 16.*—Gandhi passed through Khandwa by train on his way from Bombay to Bhopal on the 8th September. Some 500 persons were at the railway station to see him, and some foreign caps were burnt on the platform.

*Page 787, para. 1790-A—*

*S. B., Bombay Presidency, Poona, October 11.*—The District Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, reports that while no confirmation can be had of the issue of specific orders, it is well-known that M. K. Gandhi has impressed upon his followers the necessity of working quietly and steadily along the lines of what has become known as the Congress Programme. This includes the enlistment of Congress members, the popularisation of khaddar by speeches and sales, and the preaching of temperance. The object of the Programme is to prepare a large body of people for the purpose of non-co-operation next year in the event of there being no grant of Dominion status. M. K. Gandhi's hope is that the Moderates, who are in favour of Dominion Status, will be ready, if their hopes are disappointed, to join those who advocate complete independence. In order not to alienate anyone, the extremists have to be careful for the moment.

As speeches in meetings, convened to boost the Congress programme have, so far, been mild, and as Gandhi has said " He will give Government hint upto the end of the year, before launching of non-co-operation campaign", it is just possible that a hint to be careful has been sent round to all workers.

*Page 788, para. 1793-A—*

*From the United Provinces Secret Abstract dated September 21, 1929, para. 560.*—Mr. Gandhi's tour in the United Provinces began with his arrival at Agra on September 11 for a week's stay. His first meeting on the same day drew a crowd of about 10,000 persons. Other meetings held subsequently both in the city and the rural areas, with exception of a large gathering of 10,000 persons at Firozabad, attracted audiences ranging up to about 4,000. Mr. Gandhi's speeches at all these meetings dealt chiefly with khaddar and the main point of the Congress programme. He is said to have been very disappointed at the small amounts presented to him.

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*Page 810, para. 1849—*

Mr. Gandhi has continued his tour to Benares and Lucknow. On September 25 he delivered the convocational address at the Kashi Vidyapith, Benares, and on the following day spoke at a meeting of about 7,000 persons in the Town Hall. **The** orthodox element of the city took out a procession and attempted to interrupt the latter meeting as a protest against Mr. Gandhi's support of the Sarada Bill. Benares contributed Rs. 6,000 to the khaddar fund and Rs. 1,161 towards the Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund. Included in these amounts were Rs. 1,348 from the students of the Hindu University. At Lucknow, Mr. Gandhi attended the second session of the District Political Conference on September 27 and spoke on the five points of the Congress programme, including Hindu-Muslim unity. On September 28 he addressed the students of the Lucknow University, and later in the day spoke at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. At this meeting he definitely refused the presidentship of the Lahore Congress meeting, and ultimately Jawaharlal Nehru was elected to the post.

*(2) From the United Provinces Secret Abstract, dated October 5, 1929, para, 624—Benares.—*On September 25 the Convocation of the Kashi Vidyapith was held in the presence of some thousands of people including students and town's folk.

On the arrival of Mr. Gandhi and Bhagwan Das clad in yellow robes as being chancellor and vice-chancellor of the institution the proceedings commenced with the recitation of verses from the Vedas by Professor Rudra Narayan Sastri and Dr. Krishna Chandra Sharma. Degrees were then conferred upon eight students, the presentation taking a form of a ceremonial which included set questions and answers which could not be heard by the reporter.

Mr. Gandhi delivered his address seated. He spoke on national education such as had sprung into existence as a result of the non-co-operation campaign and said that though institutions for this purpose were few, he believed that, they would increase in number. He impressed upon the students of the Vidyapith that they were not being educated with the idea of their being able to obtain employment but in order to strengthen national life, and to study the ways and means of opening the door to Swaraj. He appealed to the students to remain brave soldiers and upright men and not to grow weak as had been the case with the students who came out to fight for the nation in 1920.

Bhagwan Das then passed a few comments on Mr. Gandhi's speech and the meeting dispersed.

Page 812, para. 1852—

*From the United Provinces, Secret Abstract, dated October 5, 1929, para. 615, Lucknow.*—On September 28 a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee was held in the Ganga Prasad Memorial Hall with Pandit Motilal Nehru in the chair. Those present numbered nearly 200 and included Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Subhas Chandra Bose, Vallabhbhai Patel, Ishwari Das, Secretary, and T. B. Pande, President of the East African deputation, as well as representatives of most of the provincial committees.

Page 869, para. 1957—

(1) *From the United Provinces Secret Abstract, dated October 19, 1929, paras. 630 and 632.*—Mr. Gandhi had visited Lucknow, Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Bahraich, Barabanki, and Hardoi districts during the past fortnight. The speech in reply to the address from the Gorakhpur Youth League, in which he referred to the death of J. N. Das and the Meerut and Lahore cases, was a notable departure from his habit of confining his remarks to an exposition of the five points of Congress. His visits have in nearly every instance been the occasion for enthusiastic demonstrations by large crowds, although district report tend to show that this exhibition of popular feeling is due more to curiosity than to the man or his creed. At a few meetings the crowds have been very disorderly. Purses have been given in all districts, but their smallness has frequently called forth reproaches from Mr. Gandhi.

District.	Number attending chief meeting.	Probable sum received from district.	Remarks.
		Rs.	
Lucknow	6,000	9,400	
Fyzabad	12,000	3,250	At Akbarpur 14,000 kisans assembled.
Jaunpur	3,000	2,150	
Ghazipur	10,000	3,300	
Azamgarh	6,000	4,000	
Gorakhpur	12,000	9,200	At Padrauna 20,000 and Deoria 25,000 persons were present.
Basti	50,000	5,350	
Gonda	8,000	4,850	
Bahraich	6,000	3,100	
Bara-banki	5,000	3,400	
Hardoi	4,000	5,100	

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Gandhi day was celebrated in a number of districts on October 2. The meeting at Meerut ended with a Magic lantern show at which objectionable explanations were given of some of the slides.

The following extracts are given as examples of the proceedings: —

From Tanda, Mr. Gandhi went to Akbarpur where, as the result of intensive propaganda in the villages, crowd of kisans estimated at 14,000 persons had assembled to see him. Mr. Gandhi spoke for about ten minutes in his customary strain and caused a good deal of disappointment to the majority of those present who had expected some revelation of his divinity. A purse of Rs. 151 was presented.

Mr. Gandhi then motored to Fyzabad, where he attended a meeting of about 1,000 ladies, and received presents of jewellery and cash amounting to about Rs. 400. Owing to some confusion in the meeting Mr. Gandhi could not be heard.

In the evening he spoke at a public meeting held on the city Maidan. The crowd, which at the beginning numbered about 4,000 persons later swelled to some 12,000. Narendra Deo Shastri, Daya Krishan. Ganjur, Lallanji and Professor Kripalani were also present.

Narendra Deo, on behalf of the citizens of Fyzabad, presented a purse of Rs. 2,155, which included Rs. 300 for the Lajpatrai Memorial Fund.

Mr. Gandhi expressed keen disappointment at the size of the purse.

*Azamgarh.*—On October 3, Mr. Gandhi was greeted by crowds numbering several thousands. In the evening a meeting was held in the ground of the Kshatriya Schools, to which entry was by ticket at prices ranging from four annas to Rs. 100. About 1,500 persons paid for admission to the cheaper seats. When it was seen that a larger audience would not be obtained by charging entrance, the gates were thrown open to the public, and several thousands of people came in.

Mr. Gandhi arrived accompanied by his wife, Miss Slade, Professor Kripalani and Shri Prakash of Benares, and was presented with addresses by representatives of the District and Municipal Boards. Both addresses gave an account of the work of the boards in connection with education, the uplift of untouchables and khaddar, and mentioned the friendly relations existing between the Hindus and Mahommadans of the district.

Mr. Gandhi replied in the usual terms.



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On reaching Ghughli, Mr. Gandhi was met by a crowd of about 10,000 persons but their unruly behaviour offended him and he entered the train without delivering a speech. A purse said to contain about Rs. 750 was presented to him here.

There was a crowd waiting for him at Captainganj railway station and one estimated at about 20,000 persons at Padrauna. Here Mr. Gandhi with his wife, Professor Kripalani, Shri Prakash, Miss Slade, Baba Raghava Das, Bindbasni Prasad and Prabhat Krishna Banerji left their special train and proceeded to the meeting enclosure where an address of welcome and a purse of about Rs. 3,000 were presented. The crowd was inclined to be rowdy and Mr. Gandhi's efforts to restore quiet in the meeting were unsuccessful so that he was obliged to speak in spite of the reigning confusion. He congratulated those present on their sacrifices in connection with the Nagpur Flag *Satyagraha*, the Patuakhali *Satyagraha*, and similar movements and impressed upon them the need for closely adhering to five points of Congress. He expressed regret that of the promised Rs. 5,000 he had received only Rs. 3,000 and appealed for more money. The crowd was clearly disappointed in the proceedings, and it was freely said that all Mr. Gandhi cared about was collecting money.

On October 4, Mr. Gandhi attended a meeting of 12,000 persons on the Parade-ground, Gorakhpur. He was late in arriving, and the main body of the audience becoming impatient got out of hand and rushed the barriers. Their uproar defied all efforts of the volunteers and workers to create order and silence, so that Mr. Gandhi, after speaking a few words, which were repeated aloud by Bindbasni Prasad of Gorakhpur, left the meeting in despair. On his arrival he was presented with addresses (which were not read) on behalf of the District Congress Committee, the Nagri Pracharini Sabha, the untouchables and the district and Municipal boards the last of which was in English.

The District Congress Committee address referred to the position in 1921 and made mention of the Chauri-Chaura incident, concerning which it stated that the Congress workers had made a mistake in enlisting volunteers without having first ascertained their status and past history, and the highhandedness of the late Sub-Inspector, Gupteshwar Singh, who was burnt to death. It further described how after the incident persons dressed in khaddar were beaten at the stations and prosecuted under section 110, C. P. C. This kind of "repression" and communal tension had been the cause of the downfall of the Gorakhpur District Congress Committee.



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The address from the untouchables stated that they preferred the British Raj to Hindu predominance as under the former they could at least agitate for relief. It stated that formerly the District and Municipal boards had allotted money for their uplift, but that it had all been embezzled and they had derived no benefit from it.

The addresses presented by District and Municipal Boards gave an account of their efforts to popularise and encourage *Swadeshi*.

Mr. Gandhi, in his reply, confined himself to his usual exposition of the five points of Congress and asked all present to be prepared to do what they could in the coming January. An attempt to auction a silver plate and a silver lock was made and bidding up to Rs. 50 for the former was heard, but thereafter the confusion in the meeting became so great, partly owing to the conduct of the crowd as already mentioned and partly owing to the meeting being thrown into darkness by the overturning of a Kitson light, that the final result of the sale could not be ascertained. No announcement was made of the amount of purses presented by the city and other institutions.

On October 5, Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by Jawaharlal Nehru went to Deoria in the afternoon and was received by a crowd of about 25,000 persons. Two addresses were presented on behalf of the Municipal Notified Area and the Sub-District Board. The latter recounted the efforts of the Boards towards popularizing *Swadeshi* and stated that all the Board's servants would be ordered to wear Khaddar. A purse, believed to contain less than Rs. 1,000 was also presented. Mr. Gandhi, in a very few words, put before those present the five points of Congress and then excused himself on the ground of fatigue. It is possible, however, that his desire to get away was prompted by the knowledge that there existed in the town a certain element of opposition in the orthodox Sanatanist party.

Mr. Gandhi returned by ordinary train to Gorakhpur and was greeted at nearly every station by large crowds. At Chauri Chaura there was a gathering of about 2,000 persons.

On October 7 about 300 persons, mostly students, assembled in the hall of the St. Andrew's College to hear Mr. Gandhi. Two addresses, one by Muhamad Ismail, Barrister on behalf of the Gorakhpur Youth League, and the other by Shahid Husain, on behalf of the Gorakhpur Muslim Youth Association, were presented with a joint purse of Rs. 501.

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The Youth League address stated that the National School, opened on a previous occasion by Mr. Gandhi, had closed down owing to local apathy in the matter of non-co-operation. It further stated that the Youth League had been started in memory of the "Lion of the Punjab", Lala Lajpatrai, and asked for instructions as to how they should act with regard to the Meerut and Lahore cases.

The Muslim Youth Association address stated as its aim the removal of communal disunion, but asked that when *Swaraj* was obtained the claims of Mahommadans should not be overlooked.

Mr. Gandhi, in his reply, said that as regards his silence on the affairs at Meerut and Lahore and the self-sacrifice of J. N. Das he had received many communications and would give now the same reply as he had given before, viz., that it is the duty of every sincere worker for the country to keep quiet when he considers it best to do so ; but when he considers it his duty to speak he should speak even at the risk of the gallows. By having kept silence it did not mean that he had not formed any opinion on these matters but rather that he considered such silence to be for the benefit of the country. A sincere worker who considered it wise to remain silent on any subject and did not do so could not be called a sincere worker.

As regards preparations for 1930 he would repeat what he had told the Cawnpore students, that if they wished to prepare themselves they should first purify their souls, for without purification true courage was not attainable. He wished the young men to take a major part in the preparations for the coming January and by self-purification to be prepared to die without fear. Students feared to boycott their institutions thinking that they would thereby risk their source of livelihood, but if they purified their souls they would rely on God alone for their support and have no fear in boycotting the schools. On the subject of unemployment, he said that those who had received education were bent on earning their bread by sitting on chairs and writing but that what they should rather do should be to become sweepers, shoe-makers, washermen, or members of any other useful calling. He stated that as the average income of Indians was not more than Rs. 33 per head none should dream of earning thousands. The moneylenders and English traders he stigmatised as dacoits.

*Basti.*—On October 8 about 50,000 persons assembled on the Hathiagarh Ground to welcome Mr. Gandhi who arrived from Gorakhpur accompanied by Sardar Narbada Prasad Singh, Professor Kripalani and others; prominent among those present in

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the meeting were Hanuman Prasad Singh, M.L.C., Kateshwar Prasad Pande, Vice-Chairman of the District Board, Gauri Shankar Misra of Gorakhpur, and Jawaharlal Nehru.

Prior to Mr. Gandhi's arrival Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a speech in which he likened the large gatherings of the people to see Mr. Gandhi to locusts because they were suffering so much disgrace and were submerged in slavery and yet were not able to throw off their bonds. He said that peasants were troubled in countless ways by Government, the taluqdars, money-lenders and lawyers; everyone was ready to suck their blood. He explained that *Swaraj* did not mean the replacing of European officers by Indians. The country had deteriorated owing to the action of those men who were prepared to sell their own and their country's freedom for a handful of money. The *Swaraj* contemplated by Congress aimed at the removal of the hardships of the poor and the realization of a free life with plenty of food and work. Turning to current events he said that the greatest crime for which people were being arrested was love of their country and its service. Government knew that when the peasants and labourers began to realise the source of their troubles they would with difficulty be held in check. If the peasants and labourers were to organise no power would be able to withstand them.

Mr. Gandhi, on arrival, was presented with addresses on behalf of the District Board, the Muslims of Purani Basti, the Nagri Pracharini Sabha and the citizens of Basti, as well as a purse of Rs. 5,000.

In the Muslims' address readiness was expressed to help in the fight for freedom provided that the muslim community received separate representation and a third of the seats in the Assembly and that Congress would support the resolutions passed at the Delhi All-Muslim Parties Conference.

The other addresses contained nothing remarkable.

*Gonda, October 10.*—Mr. Gandhi's reply followed the usual lines and included a warning that unless the Congress programme was fulfilled to the utmost *Swaraj* would not be obtained next year.

(2) *From the United Provinces, Secret, Abstract, dated October 26, 1929, para. 656.*—Continuing his tour, Mr. Gandhi had visited Moradabad, Bijnor, Saharanpur and Dehra Dun Districts. His visits have in all instances called forth a warm welcome, but nowhere has popular enthusiasm reached the heights attained in the Eastern Districts of the Province during the earlier stages of his tour.

As stated in the tabular form, the week's results of the tour may be roughly summed up as follows:—

District.	Number attending chief meeting.	Probable sum received from district. Rs.	Remarks.
Shajahanpur		125	Presented at the Railway station while <i>en-route</i> to Moradabad. Mr. Gandhi's proposed visit to the district was cancelled.
Moradabad	1,500	2,750	
Bijnor	4,000	1,100	Meeting at Dhampur.
Saharanpur	4,000	3,300	Meeting at Hardwar.
Dehra Dun	10,000	4,400	District Political conference meeting.

Page 893, para. 2002—

From the United Provinces, Secret Abstract, dated November 2, 1929, paras. 679 and 681 (d)-(679).—After his week of the rest in Mussoorie, Mr. Gandhi had resumed his tour and has visited Dehra Dun, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar and Meerut Districts. At Muzaffarnagar and Meerut the chief meetings attracted 10,000 persons; elsewhere the gatherings were comparatively small. An announcement was made on October 26 that of the Rs. 3,20,009 demanded of the United Provinces Rs. 1,30,204 had already been collected. At Meerut on the following day the city and cantonments purse contained Rs. 11,000, the largest amount so far contributed in the province.

Mr. Gandhi's speeches contained nothing new although at the Meerut meeting while disavowing any sympathy with Communists he said that they should not be prosecuted.

The results of the weeks' tour are roughly summarised below: —

District.	Number attending chief meeting.	Probable sum received from district.	Remarks.
		Rs.	
Dehra Dun	1,000	3,510	
Saharanpur	7,000	5,010	
Muzaffarnagar	10,000	4,310	
Meerut	10,000	16,851	

Very little Congress agitation has been noticeable outside those districts directly affected by Gandhi's tour and public meetings have been remarkably few. Advantage of the general stir occasioned by Gandhi's visits was taken at Mussoorie by Jawaharlal Nehru at Saharanpur by Zafar Ali Khan who is conducting a Hindu-Muslim unity campaign, and at Meerut by Subhash Chandra Bose who addressed meetings on the various aspects of the Congress programme.

Raghubir Narayan Singh presented a purse of Rs. 11,000 on behalf of Meerut city and cantonment, and announced the presentation of other purses from various schools and institutions aggregating Rs. 3,615.

Mr. Gandhi congratulated Meerut on its purse, but said that he was not fully satisfied with it. He expected more from them for the reason that they enjoyed the unique privilege of having the communist case tried in their city. In connection with this case he thanked the authorities for allowing him to interview the accused in jail and said that though he himself had no sympathy with Communism, he felt that Communists should not be prosecuted as they were working for the betterment of Indians. If the accused were bent on any work of destruction and were misleading India it was not the business of Government to guide their dupes, but rather the duty of the leaders of the public to show them the right path. He concluded his address with his usual remarks on the Congress programme. The auction of the addresses produced Rs. 85.

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(2) S. B., *Bombay Presidency, Poona, November 8.*—*Young India*, dated November 7, and the following on M. K. Gandhi's United Provinces tour.

Saharanpur was the first station visited on the plains. Besides the usual meetings of men and women there was the students meeting. There was a meeting of the students and teachers of the Kashiram High School who together gave Gandhiji the largest purse of the tour comparing their numbers with the numbers of the other schools and colleges. This evoked from Gandhiji a well-deserved compliment as also the frank admission in their address that the Khadi he saw them wear at the meeting was only purchased for the occasion and that they assured him that what they had commenced they proposed to continue. The wearing of Khadi for the occasion only has taken place everywhere without there being any secret about it. But this was the first occasion when a frank and penitent admission of weakness was made and a definite assurance of shedding it given

We reached Meerut at 11 a.m. and had to tackle a ladies meeting and a public meeting. But Meerut was the place where the famous Communist trial is taking place. Though as he remarked he was neither a Communist nor any other "ist", he could not miss seeing the prisoners if he was permitted. The Superintendent readily granted the permission and though it meant considerable interference with his rest and the day's programme Gandhiji went to the gaol precisely at 2 p.m. and gave himself a happy 1½ hours' time with the prisoners. The party squatted on the coir matting that was spread on the floor. The prisoners' cell was an open well-ventilated rectangle studded with *charpais* for them. The prisoners, who were quite cheerful and gay, greeted Gandhi with "we frankly did not expect you to visit us." Gandhi at once replied, "Of course you did not. You do not know me. I may have my differences with you. You may even cause me trouble at Congress meeting but my creed teaches me to go out of my way to show regard to my opponents and thus demonstrate to them that I can mean no ill to them. Moreover in the present case by coming here I wanted in my humble way to show in a practical manner that this prosecution is wrong and that in any event it is atrocious that you should be put under a heavy handicap by being tried in an inconvenient place like Meerut where you cannot get the facilities obtainable in the presidency towns of conducting a proper defence." There was quite a variety of topics which the prisoners discussed with Gandhiji. They wanted to know the implications of the Calcutta resolution about Dominion

Status. They wanted to know also why he was silent on Jatindra Nath's self-immolation, about strike, etc. Interesting though the whole of the conversation was I must not attempt to give the whole of it. Suffice it to say that Gandhiji kept them laughing the whole of the hour and a half he was with them. One could see that he was loth to part with them and when he could stay no longer he told them that if they were not free men before the end of December he expected to join them early next year.

*Page 915, para. 2959—*

*From the United Provinces, Secret Abstract, dated November 9, 1929, paras. 694 and 696.—* During the past week Mr. Gandhi has concluded his tour of the Meerut District, visited Bulandshahar District and reached Aligarh. In Meerut he covered more ground than in any previous district and the response to his appeal, although not fulfilling the expectations of the local leaders, produced Rs. 36,400, a sum well in excess of any other district contributing. This included Rs. 1,350 from the College students whom he addressed on October 28.

Mr. Gandhi continued to insist on the need for a whole hearted compliance with the major tenets of the Congress creed embodied in his " five points." His reception at the Aligarh Muslim University was enthusiastic.

The week's results were roughly as follows:—

District.	Number attending chief meeting	Probable sum received from district.	Remarks.
		Rs.	
Meerut	12,000	36,400	Baraut meeting the sum shown includes Rs. 16,851 previously reported.
Bulandshahar	7,000	7,760	
Aligarh	5,000	--	Muslim University meeting: No purse.



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The following extracts from accounts of this tour show the general nature of the reception given to him:—

*Meerut.*—On October 28, a meeting attended by about 800 college students, the college staff and about 200 residents of the town was held at the Meerut College, Mr. Gandhi was accompanied by his wife and Professor Kirpalani. Proceedings opened with the singing of the song by 6 or 7 Bengali students in praise of the motherland, after which the Principal of the College, Colonel Donel, delivered a short speech of welcome. A student then presented an address which was not read and a purse of 101 guineas, saying that its Indian equivalent was Rs. 1,350, of which Rs. 540 had been given by the staff and the remainder by the students. The address and the purse were presented in a silver plate. Mr. Gandhi thanked those present for his welcome and said that although in Saharanpur he had received a good sum from a school, the students of Meerut had far surpassed the generosity of students at other places. Speaking on points raised in the students address he expressed sorrow that they considered it their duty to marry while still at college and added that many students had written to him saying that they have no sympathy with the self-control advocated by him. He had come to the conclusion that the atmosphere of timidity and weakness to be found throughout the country was due to the fact that students had given up self-control. With regard to orders issued by Government to students prohibiting them from doing one thing or another he said that a true student was a brave true soldier and would never comply with anything under compulsion when he did not wish to do it. The greatest punishment they would have to undergo would be expulsion from the college, but anyone who really wanted to study could study anywhere. On the subject of Khaddar he said that the colleges from which they received their education were built from the money wrung from millions of poor peasants, whose sons did not even get primary education. The students should therefore help the peasants by using Khaddar.

*October 29.*—He motored to the Hapur Chamber of Commerce where he was received by the members and was presented with an address and a purse of Rs. 2,000. In the address Mr. Gandhi Was requested to explain the secret of Khaddar, which was twice as dear as mill-made of foreign cloth. Mr. Gandhi very briefly thanked those present for their welcome and left to attend a public meeting which had been arranged on a maidan near at hand.

Mr. Gandhi offered thanks for his reception and expressed his disappointment at the smallness of the purse given by the Chamber of Commerce. He dealt at length with the various economic



aspects of Khaddar which, in his opinion, was the only means of extending help to the starving millions. The rest of his speech was devoted to the five points of Congress.

*October 30.*—Mr. Gandhi concluded his day's tour by visiting Parichhatgarh, Kithur and Bhatipur, receiving gifts of Rs. 705 from the last two named places. At Parichhatgarh where there was a gathering of 3,000 persons he spoke for a few minutes and asked for money, but his audience replied that they had none to give.

*November 1—Aligarh.*—From Khurja, Mr. Gandhi went on to Aligarh, where in the evening he addressed a gathering of about 5,000 persons chiefly composed of the staff and students at the Aligarh University. Among those present were Professor Kripalani, Haji Mussa Khan, Malkhan Singh and Mr. Horne, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, who presided. Mr. Masud, Vice-Chancellor of the University, opened the proceedings by offering tribute to Mr. Gandhi's qualities and requesting him to accept a life membership of the Muslim University Union. Mr. Gandhi gave thanks for the honour conferred upon him and said that wherever he had been throughout his tour he had invariably received a warm welcome from students. He impressed upon hearers that Sir Saiyid Ahmad had always pleaded for communal unity and repeated in terms suited to his audience the other chief points of the Congress programme. The meeting was brought to a close with a short speech of thanks by Mr. Horne.

*Page 937, para. 2100—*

*From the United Provinces, Secret Abstract, dated November 16, 1929, para. 713.*—Mr. Gandhi continued his tour from Aligarh to Muttra and the districts where his meetings attracted crowds of only moderate size.

Gandhi referred on more than one occasion to the announcement by His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject of Dominion Status and warned his hearers not on that account to slacken their efforts in support of Congress.

Result of his visits are : —

District.	Number attending chief meeting	Probable sum realised from district.	Remarks.
		Rs.	
Aligarh	8,000	5,610	
Muttra	4,000	3,900	
Etah	5,000	5,540	

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*3rd November 1929.*—At Khair in a short speech to about 3,000 persons he said that Congress activities should not be abandoned on account of the Viceroy's announcement regarding Dominion Status. Here he was presented with a purse of Rs. 700. At Harduaganj he received Rs. 300.

In the afternoon he addressed about 8,000 persons in the grounds of the Lyall park. Addresses were presented on behalf of the municipal and district boards and the Dharma Samaj Intermediate College, and a joint purse of Rs. 950 was given by the citizens of Aligarh. The addresses made mention of education and uplift work among untouchables. Gandhi commented on the smallness of the purse and spoke as usual on the Congress programme. He then began to auction the addresses and articles accompanying them, but had only succeeded in disposing of the address of Rs. 35, when the crowd got out of hand and rushed the dais. Gandhi then left the meeting.

*Muttra, 6th November 1929.*—Mr. Gandhi referred to the protection of cows and the unsatisfactory arrangements for the supply of good milk in Muttra. He also invited his hearers not to slacken in their efforts on behalf of the Congress programme merely on account of the Viceroy's announcement.

*7th November 1929.*—At Brindaban he was greeted by about 3,000 persons headed by Ganga Prasad, Madan Mohan Chaube, Ramnath Vyas and Raghubir Narayan Singh who had assembled in the compound of the municipal dak Bungalow.

Before Gandhi arrived Ganga Prasad, Secretary of the Prem Mahavidyalaya, read out the annual report of that institution in which mention was made of the village workers class. It was also stated that the annual income of the Mahavidyalaya amounted to Rs. 21,000, which was insufficient for present needs.

Gandhi first unveiled a portrait of Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh bearing the inscription "Presented by the Old boys' Association and unveiled by Mr. Gandhi." There was also an autograph message from Mahendra Pratap sent from Berlin saying that the aim of religion was to make a man free and independent, and that his own religion was one of love which included persons of all creeds. Addresses were then presented on behalf of the Municipal Board and the local Congress Committee. The latter referred to the orders of the Municipal Board debarring students from taking part in the Congress meetings. With the addresses a purse of Rs. 1,122 was presented. Gandhi in reply said he had great respect for Mahendra Pratap, with whom he corresponded regularly. The staff, students and the general public were under a debt of obligation to the Raja

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who had set them an example of self-sacrifice for the sake of freedom. The great awakening in China was due to the Chinese students, who gave the benefits of their education to the masses.

*Page 938, para. 2101—*

*From the Delhi Secret Abstract, dated November 9, 1929, para. 289.—* On the 1st November Gandhi arrived at Shahdara at 10 a.m. from Meerut by motor, accompanied by Professor Kripalani, Miss Slade and others, and at a meeting convened by the Congress Committee Shahdara attended by about 1,000 persons, he delivered a brief speech emphasising the adoption of Khaddar and the removal of untouchability.

On the 2nd November, Gandhi addressed a number of meetings in Delhi, and received addresses and purses. At 7 p.m. he delivered a speech at a meeting held in the Hindu College Hall and attended by about 800 students of different colleges. He exhorted the audience to become patriotic and brave and to discard foreign cloth. He was promised a purse of Rs. 800 at the meeting, and was presented with an address. He expressed his dissatisfaction at this contribution, which he said had only 'been subscribed by the Hindu College.

Another very largely attended public meeting was organized by the District Congress Committee, Delhi, in the Queen's Gardens the same evening to meet Gandhi. As the latter did not arrive in his scheduled time, the meeting was addressed by Mohammad Taqqi, Pleader, and Duni Chand of Ambala. The latter referred to the Viceregal pronouncement and the decision of the Leaders Conference, which had met in Delhi in the same connection and urged the use of khaddar. Mohammad Taqqi in the course of his speech remarked that Indians themselves were responsible for their slavery to the British and he warned the latter also that by keeping India in bondage, they were inviting a calamity for themselves and forecasted that even if India may continue in slavery, a time would come when she would slip away from the hands of Britain in spite of her diplomacy and statesmanship. Referring to the Hindu-Muslim problem, the speaker deplored the mentality of those who could remain slaves to a foreign nation but could not afford to give some rights to their brethren. Personally he thought that if after the attainment of Swaraj, the Hindus, murdered the Mahommadans and *vice versa*, it would be better than their servitude. On the arrival of Gandhi, Dr. Ansari was voted to the chair and Shankarlal Basal read the address presented to the Mahatma on behalf of the Delhi Congress Committee.

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The address outlined the work done by the Delhi Congress Committee in 1928-29 and held out the hope that Delhi would not lag behind in the battle of freedom of 1930. Dr. Ansari then presented the Mahatma a purse of Rs. 5,753. The labourers of the local mills also presented him with an address stating their grievances in respect of low wages and working hours, etc.; and also a purse of Rs. 51. Gandhi in his short speech, thanked the people of Delhi and the labourers for the presentation of addresses and purse and remarked that the donation of about Rs. 5,000 was inadequate. He stressed the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor and the removal of the ban on untouchables, and appealed for Hindu-Muslim unity and the membership of the Congress. Replying to the address of the labourers, he said that the ancient civilization of India knew no distinction of a master and a labourer, but according to it the relations between the two were that of a father and a son and he hoped that if the two could acquire the same spirit, they could set an ideal to the world. The addresses presented to him were then auctioned for Rs. 147 and the garlands offered to him fetched about Rs. 60. The collections made on the spot amounted to about Rs. 500.

The same day, Gandhi, also addressed the students of the Jama Millia, who presented him with a purse of Rs. 551. At a meeting of the ladies he was presented with a purse of Rs. 600, while at the meeting of the students of the Gurukul, Tughlaqabad, he was presented with an address and also a purse of Rs. 857. In all the total sum of money presented to him from Delhi amounts to about Rs. 10,000.

*Page 968, para. 2162—*

*From the United Provinces Secret Abstract, dated November 23, 1929, paras. 727 and 929.—* Mr. Gandhi's tour had extended in the past week to Budaun, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Kheri, Sitapur, Rae Bareli, Partabgarh, Sultanpur and Allahabad. In Partabgarh, thanks to the strong support of the Raja of Kalakankar, and in Allahabad, large collections were made; in most of the other districts Mr. Gandhi appears to have been disappointed at the smallness of the purses, but a statement has been published that his total receipts are now not far short of 3,00,000. The full amount he set himself to collect in the United Provinces was Rs. 3,20,000.

His speeches have digressed from the familiar five points only to deal with issues raised in addresses ; in connection with the announcement on Dominion Status he had, as before, shown on a strong disinclination to permit any relaxation of efforts in support of Congress.

The week's results are roughly as tabulated below:—

District.	Number attending chief meeting	Probable sum realised from district.	Remarks.
		Rs.	
Budaun	6,000	3,550	Sum as reported in the <i>Leader</i> .
Shahjahanpur	5,000	2,600	
Pilibhit	3,000	1,310	
Kheri	4,500	3,050	
Sitapur	3,500	8,050	
Rae Bareli	8,000	6,400	Lalganj Meeting.
Partabgarh	8,000	11,550	Press report shows Rs. 14,340.
Allahabad	9,000	31,000	Up to November 17, 1929.

The proceedings at Allahabad are given below:— *Allahabad*.—On November 16 Mr. Gandhi paid a short visit to the Ewing Christian College, where about 1,500 persons mostly students of College and of the Jumna Mission High School, had assembled. An address was presented on behalf of the teachers and students of the two institutions together with a purse of Rs. 732. The address, after praising Mr. Gandhi for his national work, expressed the desire of the students to sacrifice themselves on the altar of their mother country. Mr. Gandhi, in his reply, referred to the schools as being financed by money obtained from the masses who could themselves not afford even primary education for their children. He therefore, appealed to the students to wear khaddar as a means of assisting the poor.

On November 17, 1929, Mr. Gandhi visited the University, where he was presented with an address and a purse of Rs. 3,000. A crowd of about 4,000 students had assembled to hear him, but it was not possible to obtain a report of the speeches. At the conclusion of the proceedings the address was sold for Rs. 352.

From here Mr. Gandhi went to attend a meeting held at the Municipal Board Office and attended by about 2,000 persons, including groups of Khaddar-clad boys and girls from the Municipal schools. Among those present were Kamta Prasad Kakkar and Raja Bhagwati Prasad Singh, Chairman of the Municipal and District Board, Gauri Shankar Misra, Kapil Deva Malaviya, Abul Kalam Azad, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Parsotam Das Tandon, Professor Kirpalani, the Raja of Kalakankar and many others of local importance. The proceedings opened with the reading of the

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Municipal Board address by Kamata Prasad Kakkar. In it reference was made to the work of the Board in connection with education and the uplift of the untouchables. It is also stated that the Municipality was very little troubled with communal friction. With the address was presented a cheque for Rs. 2,094, which is said to have been collected from the Municipal servants.

Raja Bhagwati Prasad Singh then presented the District Board address in which some account was given of the Board's efforts to popularise Swadeshi and education. No purse accompanied this address. Mr. Gandhi, speaking in reply, commented on the various points raised in the addresses and made special reference to the fostering of the leather industry and the preservation of the Ganges and Jamna from pollution. He also suggested that the boards should start a campaign for the supply of pure milk at cheap rates. He concluded by making strong appeals for the Lajpatrai Memorial Fund and his Khaddar fund. The silver plate presented by the Municipal Board and the District Board address were then sold for Rs. 1,125 and the meeting was brought to a close by Mr. Gandhi hoisting the National Flag.

In the evening a public meeting of about 8,000 or 9,000 persons, including students, was held in the Parsotam Das Park. Most of the persons of note who attended the Town Hall meeting were present here also, and, in addition, T. A. K. Sherwani, Dr. Ansari and Seth Jumna Lal Bajaj, Pandit Motilal Nehru opened the proceedings with a speech welcoming Mr. Gandhi. He detailed the items which went to make up a total of nearly Rs. 31,000 presented from the district. This sum included over Rs. 8,000 from the ladies. Of the total sum Rs. 11,000 had been earmarked for the Lajpatrai Memorial fund and Rs. 3,750 for the United Provinces National Service fund. Mr. Gandhi congratulated his hearers on the size of their gift, but reminded them that they might have given very much more but for their lack of spiritual confidence. In this connection he praised the Rajas of Kalakankar and Samastipur who had given all their foreign clothing valued at Lakhs of rupees to be burned by him. He appealed for a general response to the needs of the Lajpatrai Memorial Fund, for which not more than about half of the required 5 lakhs had been collected. With reference to the Viceroy's announcement he urged his hearers to forget all that the Viceroy or the Secretary of State had said or might say in the future. *Swaraj* was not a thing to be obtained by begging, and, unless they organised and created a power within themselves, it would be unwholesome even if they did get it. He concluded by sending volunteers into the crowd to make a collection, the results of which were, as far as could be seen, not considerable. A Khaddar, purse and few articles presented on the spot were sold for Rs. 150.

*Page 986, para. 2205—*

*From the United Provinces Secret Abstract dated November 30, 1929, para. 743.—* Continuing his tour from Allahabad Mr. Gandhi visited Mirzapur, Fatehpur, Banda, Hamirpur, Jhansi, and Jalaun. Popular enthusiasm was noticeable in Mirzapur and Fatehpur, where there were three meetings attended by 10,000 or more persons. The contributions to the khaddar fund, except in the case of Jhansi, where Mr. Gandhi expressed disappointment, were not remarkable, but probably fulfilled expectations. A press announcement claims that Rs. 3,30,000 have been collected in the United Provinces that is Rs. 10,000 more than the amount demanded by Mr. Gandhi.

The week's rough table of results is as follows :—

District.	Number attending chief meeting.	Probable sum realised from district.	Remarks.
		Rs.	
Mirzapur	10,000	6,780	
Fatehpur	10,000	3,100	Also a gathering of about 13,000 persons at Bindki.
Banda	4,000	6,900	
Hamirpur	6,000	7,250	Meeting at Rath.
Jhansi	6,000	3,200	
Jalaun	6,000	3,100	

*Jhansi.*—Mr. Gandhi, on his arrival, on November 22, was met by a considerable crowd and went to a public meeting at which about 6,000 persons had assembled. Addresses were presented on behalf of the Municipal and District Boards, a body of students, the Sewa Samiti and the municipal employees. A student named Rustomji declared that the goal of youth was independence; Mr. Gandhi, however, insisted on the observance of the Congress programme. The purse and the auction produced together about Rs. 2,500.

*Page 983, para. 2199—*

*Ahmedabad, November 30.*—Bepin Chandra Pal's presence in Ahmedabad was availed of by M. K. Gandhi who requested him to address the students of the Gujarat Vidyapith.



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*Page 998, para. 2222—*

(1) *Ahmedabad, November 30.*—M. K. Gandhi, his son Ramdas, his wife Kasturba and Pyarelal Bindrabin an inmate of Gandhi's Ashram, returned to Ahmedabad from their United Provinces tour on November 25.

*Page 1012, para. 2554-A—*

From *the United Provinces Secret Abstract, dated December 7, 1929, para. 762—Etawah.*—Mr. Gandhi's tour in the United Provinces ended at Etawah on November 24. At Auraila on November 23 he addressed a meeting of about 10,000 persons and received addresses and a purse of Rs. 1,800. At Kanchausi he addressed 2,000 persons and was given a purse of Rs. 1,111. At Bharthana the gathering was about 3,000 and he received Rs. 1,214. At Bakewar he received Rs. 316 from a meeting of about 2,500 and at Jaswantnagar Rs. 551 at a small meeting. He received altogether in the District about Rs. 8,000. In Etawah itself he received addresses from the local boards and schools and he addressed about 15,000 persons. He apologized for not attending a meeting arranged by the teachers and students of Etawah. As this was his last speech in the United Provinces he gave a message to the province that it was lacking in discipline and determination and did not act up to its decisions but he was grateful for the kindness shown to him.

*Page 1022, para. 2281—*

*East Khandesh, December 7.*—M. K. Gandhi passed through Bhusawal on his journey to Wardha, but did not leave the Railway Station.



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**APPENDIX-A.**  
**HOME DEPARTMENT.**

(SPECIAL).

No. 355-(35)-(E).

Case *versus* M. K. Gandhi.

Censorship Orders on  
Telegraphs and Telephones.

**SECRET**

H.D.-(Spl.)-355-(35)-(E)  
No. S.D. 520.  
HOME DEPARTMENT,  
Bombay, 13th February 1922.

From :

J. Crerar, Esquire, C.S.I., CIE., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

To

The COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward *herewith* three orders issued under section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, addressed to the Postmaster General, the Deputy Postmaster General, Traffic, and yourself, directing the interception in Bombay of all telegrams relating to the arrest or movements of Mr. Gandhi, and to request that the orders should be handed to the Postmaster-General and the Deputy Postmaster-General, Traffic, Bombay, and brought into force only in the event of Mr. M. K. Gandhi arriving in Bombay and being arrested here.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) .....

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

H.D.(Spl.) 355 (35) (E),  
No. S.D. 521.

**Order**

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that all messages referring to the arrest of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi or to

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his movements, brought for transmission by, or transmitted or received by, any telegraph office within the municipal limits of the City of Bombay shall be intercepted and forwarded to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, for disposal.

This Order shall remain in force for 24 hours from receipt by the Telegraph authorities.

By order of the Governor of Bombay in Council.

Dated at Bombay, this 15th day of February 1922.

(Sd.) ,.....

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

H.D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E),  
No. S.D. 522.

**Orders**

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that all messages relating to the non-co-operation movement brought for transmission by, or transmitted or received by, any telegraph office within the municipal limits of the City of Ahmedabad shall be intercepted and forwarded for disposal to the Personal Assistant to the Collector of Ahmedabad, or in his absence to the Collector of Ahmedabad.

By order of the Governor of Bombay in Council,

Dated at Bombay, this 13th day of February 1922.

(Sd.) ,.....

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

H.D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E),  
No. S.D. 523

**Order**

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that all messages relating to the non-co-operation movement brought for transmission by, or transmitted or received by any telegraph office within the

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municipal limits of the City of Surat shall be intercepted and forwarded for disposal to the Collector of Surat.

By order of the Governor of Bombay in Council. Dated at Bombay, this 13th day of February 1922.

(Sd.) ,.....

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

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**SECRET**

H.D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E),  
No. S.D. 553.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Bombay, 15th February 1922.

From

J. Crerar, Esquire, C.S.I., CIE., M.L.C.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay;

To

THE COMMISSIONER, Northern Division, Ahmedabad.

Sir,

In continuation of my telegram dated the 13th February 1922, I am directed by the Governor in Council to forward herewith two Orders No. S.D. 544, dated the 14th instant, under section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), one addressed to you and the other to the District Magistrate of Surat, and to request that you will be so good when forwarding the District Magistrate, Surat, his copy to inform him that the order is intended to be acted on in the event of the receipt of further instructions to proceed with the action directed in my telegram to you, dated the 11th instant. (In main file).

2. Similar instructions should be issued to the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, in respect of Government Order, No. S.D. 522, dated the 13th February 1922.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) ,.....

For Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

H.D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E)

**POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.**

Prefix Class :—XT. KA.

11th March 1922.

To

Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department.

By Information regarding the arrest to Mr. Gandhi is being telegraphed in press commercial and social telegrams since 1 a.m. today. Kindly say if such cases are to be referred as there will probably be several hundreds.

From :

Superintendent in Charge,  
Central Telegraph Office, Bombay.

H.D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E)

Supdt. of Tele : is informed by telephone that only messages what appear objectionable and fall under Rule 15, should be referred to us. The rest to go on without reference to us.

(Sd.) D. J. M.

11th March 1922.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

H.D. (Spl.) 355 (35) (E),

HOME DEPARTMENT (SPECIAL),

Bombay, 24th March 1922

*No. S.D. 909.*

My dear Ghosal,

Please refer to the correspondence ending with my letter No. S.D. 553, dated the 15th February last, regarding the imposition of a censorship of telegrams, relating to the non-co-operation movement, at Ahmedabad and in the Surat District. You are being informed separately of the cancellation of the order No. S.D. 544, dated the 14th February 1922, pertaining to the Surat District.

2. As regards the Ahmedabad order—No. S.D. 522, dated the 13th February 1922—the Governor in Council does not consider it necessary to cancel or amend the order, in case, at any time, necessity arises for its effective enforcement. You should however, instruct Chatfield to make informal arrangements with the Telegraph authorities for the suspension of the pre-censorship of messages of the nature defined, and for copies only to be sent to him, except, of course, in the case of telegrams which specifically fall under Rule 15 of the Indian Telegraph Rules. In this connection, I would invite your attention to my demi-official letter to the

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Collector of Ahmedabad, Wo. S.D. 1171, dated the 10th June 1921, copy of which was endorsed to you under No. S.D. 1172 of the same date.

Yours sincerely,  
(Sd.) J. C.

To

J. Ghosal, Esquire, CIE., M.L.C., Commissioner, Northern Division.

CONFIDENTIAL.

H.D. (Spl.)-355-(35)-(E),  
No. S.D. 534;

HOME DEPARTMENT (POLITICAL),  
Bombay Secretariat,  
14th February 1922.

From

G. Wiles., Esq.,  
Dy. Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

To

The Director, Western Circle,  
Government Telegraph Department, Engineering, Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that the Governor in Council is pleased to cancel Order No. S.D. 530 of today's date, directing the closing to the public of telephonic communications between Ahmedabad, Surat and Bombay.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant.  
(Sd.)

CONFIDENTIAL,

H.D.-(Spl.)-355-(35)-(E),

Submitted.

2. A draft Order under the Telegraph Act, closing the telephone between Ahmedabad, Surat Broach and Bombay, to the general public is put up for approval. It may be dated and issued during the afternoon of the day before that fixed for the arrest to be carried out.

*Home Sec.*

This would seem to be a very necessary precaution. At the most it would mean closing down for only half a day.

(Sd.) J. C.  
4th March.

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**CONFIDENTIAL.**

H.D.-(Spl.)-355-(35)(E)

No. S.D. 728.

**Order**

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 (XIII of 1885), the Governor in Council hereby authorises the Director, Western Circle, Government Telegraph Department (Engineering), to close from 6 p.m. on the 9th to the midnight 10th instant all telephonic communication between Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad and Bombay, except official messages sent by or on behalf of Commissioner, North Division, the District Magistrates and the District Superintendents of Police, Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad, respectively, or by the Officers Commanding troops at these places, and from Bombay by or on behalf of the Government of Bombay or the Central Officer Commanding, Bombay District.

By order in the Government in Council.

Dated at Bombay, this 4th day of March 1922.

(Sd.) J. C.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Home Department.

No. 729.

Copy forwarded to—

The Commissioner, North Division,  
The District Magistrate, Surat,  
The District Magistrate, Broach,  
The District Magistrate, Ahmedabad.

Issued on 7th March 1922.

For communication of military and Telegraph authorities and District Superintendents of Police.

To issue on 9th February, with above order.

The G.O.C., Bombay District.

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**APPENDIX-B.**  
**GANDHI'S MESSAGE.**

*P. C.'s Office, Bombay.*

*Extract from File No. 30011 IHI 24-30.*

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE, Friday 15, 1924.

Sassoon Hospitals,  
Poona, 7th February 1924.

My dear, Friend and Brother,

I am send you as President of the Congress a few words which I know our countrymen except from me on my sudden release.

I am sorry that the Government have prematurely released me on account of my illness, such release can bring me no joy, for I hold that the illness of a prisoner affords no ground for his release.

I would be guilty of ungratefulness if I did not tell you and through you the whole public that both the goal and the Hospital authorities have been all attention during my illness, Colonel Murrary, the Superintendent of the Yeravda Prison, as soon as he suspected that my illness was at all serious invited Colonel Maddock to assist him and I am sure that promptest measures were taken by him to secure for me the best treatment possible, I could not have been removed to the David and Jacob Sassoon Hospitals a moment earlier. Colonel Maddock and his staff have treated me with the utmost attention and kindness. I may not omit the Nurses who have surrounded me with sisterly care. Although it is now open to me to leave this Hospital, knowing that I can get no better treatment anywhere else, with Colonel Maddock's kind permission, I have decided to remain under his care till the wound is healed and no further medical treatment is necessary.

The public will easily understand that for some time to come I shall be quite unfit for active work. And those who are interested in my speedy return to active life will hasten it by postponing their natural desire to see me. I am unfit and shall be for some weeks perhaps to see a number of visitors. I shall better appreciate the affection of friends, if they will devote greater time and attention to such national work as they may be engaged in and especially to hand spinning.

My release has brought me no relief, whereas before release I was free from responsibility save that or conforming to goal discipline and trying to qualify myself for more efficient service I am now overwhelmed with a sense of responsibility I am ill fitted to discharge.

Telegrams of congratulations have been pouring in upon me. They have but added to the many proofs I have received of the affection of our countrymen for me. It naturally pleases and comforts me. Many telegrams, however, betray hopes of results from my service which stagger me. The

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thought of my utter incapacity to cope with the work before me humbles my pride. Though i know very little of the present situation in the country i know sufficient to enable me to see that perplexing as the national problems were at the time of the Bardoli resolutions, they are far more perplexing to-day. It is clear that without unity between Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and other Indians all talk of, Swaraj is idle. This unity which I foundry believed in 1922 had been nearly achieved has, so far as Hindus and Musalmans are concerned, I observe, suffered a severe check. Mutual trust has given place to distrust. An indissoluble bond between the various communities must be established if we are to win freedom. Will the thanks giving of the nation over my release be turned into a solid unity between the communities. ? That will restore me to health far quicker than any medical treatment rest cure. When I heard in the goal of the tension between Hindus and Musalmans in certain, places, my heart sank within me. The rest I am advised to have will be no rest with the burden of disunion preying upon me. I ask all those who cherish love towards me to utilise it in furtherance of the union we all desire. I know that the task is difficult. But nothing is difficult if we have a living faith in God. Let us realise our own weakness and approach Him and He will surely help. It is weakness which breeds fear and fear breeds distrust. Let us both shed our fear. But I know that even if one of us will cease to bear we shall cease to quarrel. May I say that your tenure of office will be judged solely by what you can do in the cause of union ? I know that we love each other as brothers. I ask you, therefore, to share my anxiety and to help me to go through the period of illness with a lighter heart.

If we could but visualise the growing pauperism of the land and realise that the spinning wheel is the only remedy for the disease, the wheel will leave us little leisure for fighting. I had during the last two years ample time and solitude for hard thinking. It made me a firmer believer than ever in the efficacy of the Bardoli programme and therefore in the unity between the races, the charkha, the removal of untouchability and the application of non-violence in thought, word and deed to our methods as indispensable for Sawaraj. If we faithfully and fully carry out this programme we need never resort to civil disobedience and I hope that it will never be necessary. But I must state that, my thinking prayfully, and in solitude has not weakned my belief in the efficiency and righteousness of civil disobedience. I held it as never before to be a man's or a nation's right and duty when his vital being is in jeopardy and I am convinced that, it is attended with less danger than war and whilst the former when successful benefits both the resister and wrong doer, the latter harms both the victor and vanquished.

You will not except me to express any opinion on the vexed question of return by Congressmen on the Legislative Council and the Assembly. Though I have not in any way altered my opinion, about the boycott of Councils, Law Courts, and Government made at Delhi and I do not propose to express any opinion until I have had the opportunity of discussing the question with our illustrious countrymen who have felt called upon in the interest of the country to advice removal of the boycott of Legislative Bodies.



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In conclusion may I, through you, thank all the very numerous senders of Congratulatory messages. It is not possible for me personally to acknowledge each message. It has gladdened my heart to see among the messages, many from our Moderate Friends. I have non-co-operators', complaint no quarrel with them. They too are well-wishers of their country and serve to the best of their lights. If we consider them to be in the wrong we can hope to win them over only by friendliness and patient reasoning, never by abusing. Indeed, we want to regard, Englishmen too as our friends and not misunderstand them by treating them as our enemies and if we are to-day engaged in a struggle against the system for which it stands, not against Englishmen who are administering system. I know that many of us have failed to understand and always bear in mind the distinction and in so far as we have failed we have harmed our cause.

I am your sincere friend  
and brother,  
(Sd.) M. K. GANDHI.

Maulana Mohomed Ali,  
President, Indian National Congress.

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**APPENDIX C.****BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ADDRESS TO MAHATMA GANDHI.***29th August 1924.*

THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE—30th August 1924.

It was a unique function when the Bombay Municipal Corporation presented an address, to Mahatma Gandhi on Friday evening. It was the second address presented to a national leader—the chosen of the people,— by the corporation, the first being presented to Dadabhai Naoroji for his matchless and pioneer service to India. In spite of the rains yesterday, the audience inside and crowds outside the hall were tremendous ; the hall was packed to suffocation, and every available inch of space was occupied. The beautiful hall was decorated with festoons of leaves, and outside also these festoons showed the fine proportions of the building. The gathering outside the hall was an immense one, as this was the first public appearance of Mahatma Gandhi in Bombay, after his serving a term as "The Prisoner of Yerowda ". A large number of distinguished guests had been invited for the occasions and the platform was occupied by ladies. It was one of those occasions when the Corporation went out of the routine and presented an address to the man who has the greatest hold on the people of India. The function itself was a brief one although the enthusiasm of the audience was unbounded. On the platform were seated beside the President to his right the Mahatmaji and Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Naidu, and the left the Municipal Commissioner, Mr. H. B. Clayton, and Mr. Byramji Jijibhoy. On his arrival the Mahatma was received at the steps by the President, Mr. Patel, Dr. K. E. Dadachanji, the Commissioner and the Secretary, and they proceeded to the platform in that order. The Mahatmaji's coming into Hall was the signal loud and continued cheering, which lasted for a good long while, until he stood on the platform and bowed to all. He then turned to Mrs. Besant and spoke a few words to her. After a little quiet had been restore in the hall, the President proceeded to read his address in a loud voice, which could be heard on all sides. The address was punctuated with loud cheers every now and then. After the address was read, the Mahatma delivered his reply first in Gujrati and then in English, for the convenience of all. The President then handed over him the address in the simple silver casket, and garlanded him, and the members of the Corporation, were then presented to him, one by one, including the Commissioner, Mr. Masani, the Deputy Commissioner and the Secretary, Mr. Moulvi. This done, the President announced the termination of the proceedings, but asked the audience not to leave their seats until the Mahatmaji had taken his seat in the car waiting for him outside.

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**THE ADDRESS**

The following is the text of the Corporation's address :—

**MAHATMA GANDHI**

Sir,

*We, the President and Members of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay, desire to offer you, on behalf of the Citizens of Bombay, on the occasion of your recovery from serious illness and your restoration to freedom, our felicitations and our best wishes for your health and happiness. The news of your illness and removal to hospital caused great concern throughout the country and in common with numerous associations and public bodies, this Corporation watched with keen anxiety your progress towards recovery and heard with great satisfaction the news of your restoration to health and freedom.*

*" This is not the occasion to recount the great services which you, Sir, have rendered to the country by the example of your unblemished life inspired with noble idealism. Nor do we propose to dwell on your contribution to all the great causes to which you have dedicated your life. We should like in passing however, to refer to the invaluable services, you have rendered by your efforts to promote unity between the various races inhabiting this country. The progress and peaceful development of India can never be attained so long as there is a clash of interests and ideals and the endeavour to cement and strengthen the bonds between the different communities and placing them on an enduring foundation is one which must command the admiration and gratitude of all who are lovers of India and believe in the greatness of her destiny. In the same category stands your unceasing endeavour to remove the grave disabilities to which large masses of your countrymen are subject under a social system sanctioned by usage and custom. The regeneration of the Depressed classes must be the keynote of every effort at nation building, and must form the basis of India's claim to equality of rights and privileges for all who live and labour in the land. It may be that the most enduring moment of your lifework may be found in after years in the work, which you are doing to improve the lot of your sub-merged countrymen and to raise them to the status of free men.*

*"In conclusion, we wish you, Sir, a speedy and complete recovery and a return to your proper place in the counsel of the nation. We hope that you will long be spared to guide the destinies of the millions who look up to you for leadership and that it may fall to your lot to help to usher in a new era in which all the races inhabiting the country, may live and work together in a spirit of harmony and mutual confidence. A great future awaits this ancient land, and we pray that a solution may be found for the present difficulties and that India may soon be enabled to take her legitimate place in a common-wealth of free nations on the evolution of which depends the peace and happiness of the world.*

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**MAHATMA'S REPLY.**

Mahatma Gandhi said in reply,

Mr. President and Members of the Corporation and Ladies and Gentlemen, I need offer no apology for my having addressed you first in my mother-tongue. But as Bombay is an essentially cosmopolitan city, it is but meet (necessary) that I should give you the substance of my reply in English also.

I thank you for this address and the sentiments expressed therein. You have emphasised what may be called my humanitarian services. For me humanitarian service, or rather service of all that lives, is religion. And I draw no distinction between such religion and politics. Indeed I cannot conceive a life of full service without its touching politics, I am endeavouring to prove by my experiment that politics without a religious backing is a dangerous pastime resulting in nothing but harm to individuals and nations indulging in them.

But I see that my attempt to introduce religion, as here defined, into our political life, has frightened some of my best friends and co-workers, I am between scylla and charybdis. Whilst these friends fear my attempt to treat politics in terms of religion, another group would have me to restrict myself to what they imagine is social service. But if I have faith in my mission, I must stand unmoved. I believed that the time is fast coming when politicians will cease to fear the religion of humanity and humanitarians, will find entrance into political life indispensable for full service. Hence it is that I am inviting all India to respond to the message of the spinning wheel and Khadar and to promote the establishment of heart-unity between Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, Jews and other who vainly consider that the God of each is different from the God of the rest. Hence, also do I feel that for Hindus, it is irreligion to treat any body of men and women as untouchables by reason of birth. These things I hold to be as much politics as they are undoubtedly humanitarian service of the highest type. The best manner then in which I can return my thanks for your address is to invite you to join me and help me in that work and justify your title to be called the premier Corporation in India. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

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**APPENDIX-D**  
**39th INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, BELGAUM.**  
(26-28th December, 1924).  
Presidential Address  
of  
Mahatma Gandhi.

FRIENDS,

It was after much misgiving that I accepted the burden of the honour you have done me today. The unique honour for this year should have been bestowed upon Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, who did such wonderful work both in Kenya and South Africa. But it was not to be. The developments both internal and external have necessitated by acceptance of the burden. I know that I shall have your support in my attempt to do justice to the high office to which you have called me.

At the outset, let me note with respectful feelings the deaths during the year of. Bi Amman, Sir Asutosh Mukerji, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Dr. Subramaniam Iyer and Mr. Lal Bahadur Giri at home, and of Messrs. Rustomjee and P. K. Naidu in South Africa. I tender in your name my respectful condolences to the bereaved families.

RETROSPECTIVE

From the September of 1920 the Congress has been principally an institution for developing strength from within. It has ceased to function by means of resolutions addressed to the Government for redress of grievances. It did so because it ceased to believe in the beneficial character of the existing system of government. The breach of faith with the Musalmans of India was the first rude shock to the people's faith in the Government. The Rowlatt Act and O'Dwyerism culminating in the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, opened the eyes of the people to the true nature of the system. At the same time it was realised that the existence of the system depended upon the co-operation whether conscious or unconscious, and whether voluntary or, forced, of the people. With the view therefore of mending or ending the system it was decided to try to begin withdrawing voluntary co-operation from the top. At the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920 the boycott of Government titles, law-courts, educational institutions, legislative bodies and foreign cloth was resolved upon. All the boycotts were more or less taken up by the parties concerned. Those who could not or would not, retired from the Congress. I do not propose to trace the chequered career of the non-Co-operation movement. Though not a single boycott was anywhere near completion, every one of them had undoubtedly the effect of diminishing the prestige of the particular institution boycotted.

The most important boycott was the boycott of violence. Whilst it appeared at one time to be entirely successful, it was soon discovered that the non-violence was only skin-deep. It was the passive non-violence of

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helplessness, not the enlightened non-violence or resourcefulness. The result was an eruption of intolerance against those who did not non-co-operate. This was violence of a subtler type. In spite, however, of this grave defect I make bold to say that the propaganda of non-violence checked the out-brake of physical violence which would certainly have broken out, had not non-violence non-co-operation come into being. It is my deliberate conviction that non-violence non-co-operation has given to the people a consciousness of their strength. It has brought to the surface the hidden powers in the people of resistance through suffering. It has caused an awakening among the masses which perhaps no other method could have.

Though, therefore, non-violence non-co-operation has not brought us Swaraj, though it has brought about certain deplorable results and though the institutions that were sought to be boycotted are still flourishing, in my humble opinion, non-violence non-co-operation as a means of attaining political freedom has come to stay and that even its partial success has brought us nearer Swaraj. There is no mistaking the fact that the capacity for suffering for the sake of a cause must advance it.

### **A HALT**

But we are face to face with a situation that compels us to cry halt. For whilst individuals hold firmly to their belief in non-co-operation the majority of those who are immediately concerned have practically lost faith in it. with the exception of boycott of foreign cloth. Scores of lawyers have resumed practice. Some even regret having ever given it up. many who had given up Councils have returned to them and the number of those who believe in Council entry is on the increase. Hundreds of boys and girls who gave up Government schools and colleges have repented of their action and have returned to them. I hear that Government schools and colleges can hardly cope with the demand for admission. In these circumstances these boycotts cannot be worked as part of the National programme, unless the Congress is prepared to do without the classes directly affected. But I hold it to be just as impracticable to keep these classes out of the Congress as it would be now to keep the non-co-operators out. They must both remain in the Congress, without either party interfering with or hostilely criticising the other. What is applicable to Hindu-Muslim unity is, I feel, applicable to the unity among different political groups. We must tolerate each other and trust to time to convert the one or the other to the opposite belief. We must go further. We must plead with the Liberals and others who have succeeded to rejoin the Congress. If non-co-operation is suspended, there is no reason why they should keep out. The advance must be from us Congressmen. We must cordially invite them and make it easy for them to come in. You are perhaps now able to see why I entered into the agreement with the Swarajists.

### **FOREIGN CLOTH BOYCOTT**

You will observe that one boycott has been retained. Out of regard for the sentiment of an English friend the word 'Boycott' has been changed

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in the agreement into 'refusal to use foreign cloth.' There is no doubt a bad odour about the word 'Boycott'. It usually implies hatred. So far as I am concerned. I have not intended the word to bear any such meaning. The boycott has reference not to British but to foreign cloth. That boycott is not merely a right but a duty. It is as much a duty as boycott of foreign waters would be if they were imported to substitute the waters of the Indian rivers. This, however, is a digression.

What I wanted to say was that the agreement saves and emphasises the boycott of foreign cloth. For me it is an effective substitute for violent methods. Just as certain acts such as personal abuse irritating conduct, lying, causing hurt and murder are symbols of violence, similarly courtesy, inoffensive conduct, truthfulness, etc. are symbols of non-violence. And so to me is boycott of foreign cloth a symbol of non-violence cloth. Revolutionary crime is intended to exert pressure. But it is the insane pressure of anger ill-will. I contend that non-violent acts exert pressure far more effective than violent acts for that pressure comes from good-will and gentleness. Boycott of foreign cloth exerts such pressure. We import the largest amount of foreign cloth from Lancashire. It is also by far the largest of all our imports, sugar being next. Britain's chief interest centre found the Lancashire trade with India. It is the one thing more than any other that has ruined the Indian peasant and imposed partial idleness upon him by depriving him of the one supplementary occupation he had. Boycott of foreign cloth is therefore a necessity if he is to live. The plan therefore is not merely to induce the peasant to refuse to buy the cheap and nice-looking foreign fabric but also by teaching him to utilize his spare hours in carding and spinning cotton and getting it woven by the village weavers to dress himself in khaddar so woven and thus to save him the cost of buying foreign and for that matter even Indian mill-made cloth. Thus boycott of foreign cloth by means of hand-spinning and hand-weaving, i.e. khaddar not only saves the peasant's money but it enables us workers, to render social service of a first class order. It brings us into direct touch with the villagers. It enables us to give them real political education and teach them to become self-sustained and self-reliant. Organisation of khaddar is thus infinitely better than co-operative societies or any other form of village organisation. It is fraught with the highest political consequence, because it removes the greatest immoral temptation from Britain's way. I call the Lancashire trade immoral, because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants. And as one immorality leads to another, the many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to this one immoral traffic. If therefore this one great temptation is removed from Britain's path by India's voluntary effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain and, as Britain is today the predominant world-power, good even for humanity.

I do not endorse the proposition that supply follows demand. On the contrary, demand is often artificially created by unscrupulous vendors. And if a nation is bound, as I hold it is, like individuals to comply with a code of moral conduct, then it must consider the welfare of those whose wants it



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seeks to supply. It is wrong and immoral for a nation to supply for instance intoxicating liquor to those who are addicted to drink. What is true of intoxicants is true of grain or cloth, if the discontinuance of their cultivation or manufacture in the country to which foreign grain or cloth are exported results in enforced idleness or penury. These latter hurt a man's soul and body just as much as intoxication. Depression is but excitement upside down and hence equally disastrous in its result and often more so because we have not yet learnt to regard as immoral or sinful the depression of idleness or penury.

#### **BRITAIN'S DUTY**

It is then I hold the duty of Great Britain to regulate her exports with due regard to the welfare of India, as it is India regulates her imports with due regard to her own welfare. That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values. The extension of the law of non-violence in the domain of economics means nothing less than the introduction of moral values as a factor to be considered in regulating international commerce. And I must confess that my ambition is nothing less than to see international relations placed on a moral basis through India's efforts. I do not despair of cultivation of limited mass non-violence. I refuse to believe that the tendency of human nature is always downward.

The fruition of the boycott of foreign cloth through hand-spinning and khaddar is calculated not only to bring about a political result of the first magnitude, it is calculated also to make the poorest of India, whether men or women, conscious of their strength and make them partakers in the struggle for India's freedom.

#### **FOREIGN VERSUS BRITISH**

It is hardly necessary now to demonstrate the futility, not to say the violent nature, of boycott of British cloth or better still British goods as so many patriots have suggested. I am considering the boycott purely from the point of view of India's goods. All British goods do not harm us. Some goods such as English books we need for our intellectual or spiritual benefit. As regards cloth, it is not merely British cloth that harms us, but all foreign cloth and for that matter to a lesser extent even mill-made cloth injures us. Boycott brought about any how of British cloth cannot yield the same result as such boycott brought about by hand-spinning and khaddar. This necessitates exclusion at least of all foreign cloth. The exclusion is not intended as a punishment, it is a necessity of national existence.

#### **OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED**

But, say the critics, the spinning wheel has not taken, it is not exciting enough, it is an occupation only for woman, it means a return to the middle ages, it is a vain effort against the majestic march of scientific knowledge for which machinery stands. In my humble opinion India's need is not excitement but solid work. For the millions solid work itself is excitement



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and tonic at the same time. The fact is that we have not given the spinning wheel enough trial. I am sorry to have to say that many of us have not given it a serious thought. Even the members of the All-India Congress Committee have failed to carry out the series of resolutions on hand-spinning which they themselves have passed from time to time. The majority of us have simply not believed in it. In the circumstances, it is hardly just to say that spinning has failed for want of excitement about it. To say that it is merely an old woman's occupation is to ignore facts. Spinning mills are multiplication of spinning wheels. They are managed by men. It is time that we got out of this superstition that some occupations are beneath the dignity of men. Under normal conditions no doubt spinning will be the occupation of the gentle sex. But the State of the future will always have to keep some men at the spinning wheel so as to make improvements in it within limitations which as a cottage industry it must have. I must inform you that the progress the mechanism of the wheel has made would have been impossible, if some of us men had not worked at it and had not thought about it day and night.

#### **MACHINERY**

I wish too, you would dismiss from your minds the views attributed to me about machinery. In the first instance, I am no more trying to present for national acceptance all my views on machinery, than I am presenting the whole of my belief in non-violence. The spinning wheel is itself an exquisite piece of machinery. My head daily bows in reverence to its unknown inventor. What I do resent is the wanton and wicked destruction of the one cottage industry of India that kept the wolf from the doors of thousands of homes scattered over a surface 1900 miles long and 1500 miles broad.

#### **SPINNING FRANCHISE**

You will not now wonder at my passion for the spinning wheel, nor will you wonder why I have ventured to present it for introduction in the franchise, and why Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshbandhu Das have accepted it on behalf of the Swaraj Party. If I had my way, there would be no one on the Congress register who is unwilling to spin or who would not wear khaddar on all occasions. I am however thankful for what the Swaraj Party has accepted. The modification is a concession to weakness or want of faith. But it must serve as a spur to greater effort on the part of those who have full faith in the wheel and khaddar.

#### **NO OTHER MESSAGE**

I have thus dilated upon the spinning wheel because I have no better or other message, for the nation. I know no other effective method for the attainment of Swaraj if it is to be by 'peaceful and legitimate means'. As I have already remarked it is the only substitute for violence that can be accepted by the whole nation. I swear by Civil Disobedience. But Civil Disobedience for the attainment of Swaraj is an impossibility unless and until we have attained the power of achieving boycott of foreign cloth.

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You will now easily perceive why I should be a useless guide for the Congress if my views about the spinning wheel are not acceptable to you. Indeed you would be justified in regarding them, as some friends do, as a hindrance to national progress, if you consider me to be wrong in my exposition of the doctrine underlying the spinning wheel. If it does not appeal to your heads as well as your hearts, you will be wanting in your duty in not rejecting my lead. Let it no longer be said, as Lord Willingdon very properly once said of us, that we had not the strength and courage to say 'No'. Indeed your rejection of my proposal, if you do not believe in it, will be a step towards Swaraj.

#### **HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY**

Hindu-Muslim unity is not less important than the spinning wheel. It is the breath of our life. I do not need to occupy much of your time on this question, because the necessity of it for Swaraj is almost universally accepted. I say 'almost' because I know some Hindus and some Musalmans who prefer the present condition of dependence on Great Britain if they cannot have either wholly Hindu or wholly Musalman in India. Happily their number is small.

I share Maulana Shaukat Ali's robust optimism that the present tension is a mere temporary distemper. The Khilafat agitation in which Hindus made common cause with their Musalman brethren and the non-co-operation that followed it, caused an awakening among the hitherto slumbering masses. It has given a new consciousness to the classes as well as the masses. Interested persons who were disappointed during the plamy days of non-co-operation, now that it has lost the charm of novelty, have found their opportunity and are trading upon the religious bigotry or the selfishness of both the communities. The result is written in the history of the feuds of the past two years. Religion has been travestied. Trifles have been dignified by the name of religious tenets which, the fanatics claim, must be observed at any cost. Economic and political causes have been brought into play for the sake of fermenting trouble. The culminating point was reached in Kohat. The tragedy was aggravated by the callous indifference of the local authority. I must not try to examine the causes or to distribute the blame. I have not the material for the task even if I was minded for it. Suffice it to say that the Hindu refugees fled for fear of their lives. There is in Kohat an overwhelming Musalman majority. They have in so far as is possible under a foreign domination effective political control. It is up to them, therefore, to show that the Hindus are as safe in the midst of their majority, as they would be if the whole population of Kohat was Hindu. The Musalmans of Kohat may not rest satisfied till they have brought back to Kohat every one of the refugees. I hope that the Hindus would not fall into the trap laid for them by the Government and would resolutely decline to go back till the Musalmans of Kohat have given them full assurances as to their lives and property.

The Hindus can live in the midst of an overwhelming Musalman majority only if the latter are willing to receive and treat them as friends and equals,

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just as Musalmans, if in a minority, must depend for honourable existence in the midst of a Hindu majority on the latter's friendliness. A Government can give protection against thieves and robbers, but not even a Swaraj Government will be able to protect people against a wholesale boycott by one community of another. Governments can deal with abnormal situations. When quarrels become a normal thing of life, it is called civil war and parties must fight it out themselves. The present Government being foreign, in reality a veiled military rule, has resources at its command for its protection against any combination we can make and has, therefore, the power, if it has the will, to deal with our class feuds. But no Swaraj Government with any pretension to being a popular Government can possibly be organised and maintained on a war footing. A Swaraj Government means a Government established by the free joint will of Hindus, Musalmans and others. Hindus and Musalmans, if they desire Swaraj, have perforce to settle their differences amicably.

The Unity Conference at Delhi has paved the way for a settlement of religious differences. The Committee of the All Parties' Conference is among other things expected to find a workable and just solution of the political differences not only between Hindus and Musalmans but between all classes and all castes, sects or denominations. Our goal must be removal, at the earliest possible moment, of communal or sectional representation. A common electorate must impartially elect its representatives on the sole ground of merit. Our service must be likewise impartially manned by the most qualified men and women. But till that time comes and communal jealousies of preferences become a thing of the past, minorities who suspect the motives of majorities must be allowed their way. The majorities must set the example of self-sacrifice.

#### **UNTOUCHABILITY**

Untouchability is another hindrance to Swaraj. Its removal is just as essential for Swaraj as the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity. This is an essentially Hindu question and Hindus cannot claim or take Swaraj till they have restored the liberty of the suppressed classes. They have sunk with the latter's suppression. Historians tell us that the Aryan invaders treated the original inhabitants of Hindustan precisely as the English invaders treat us, if not much worse. If so, our helotry is a just retribution for our having created an untouchable class. The sooner we remove the blot the better it is for us Hindu. But the priests tell us that untouchability is a divine appointment. I claim to know something of Hinduism. I am certain that the priests are wrong. It is a blasphemy to say that God set apart any portion of huminity as untouchable. And Hindus who are Congressmen have to see to it that they break down the barrier at the earliest possible moment. The Vaikom satyagrahis are showing us the way. They are carrying on their battle with gentleness and firmness. They have patience, courage and faith. Any movement in which these qualities are exhibited becomes irresistible.

I would however warn the Hindu brethren against the tendency which one sees now-a-days of exploiting the suppressed class for a political end. To

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remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and to themselves. The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes. There is no vice that is special to the untouchables, not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance which blinds us 'superior' Hindus to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our down-trodden brethren whom we have suppressed and whom we keep under suppression. Religions like nations are being weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are the monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. That religion and that nation will be bottled out of the face of the earth which pins its faith to injustice untruth or violence. God is Light, not Darkness. God is Love, not Hate. God is Truth, not Untruth. God alone is Great. We his creatures are but dust. Let us be humble and recognise the place of the lowliest of His creatures. Krishna honoured Sudama in his rags as he honoured no one else. Love is the root of religion or sacrifice and this perishable body is the root of self or irreligion, says Tulsidas. Whether we win Swaraj or not, the Hindus have to purify themselves before they can hope to receive the Vedic philosophy and make it a living reality.

### **SWARAJ SCHEME**

But the spinning wheel, Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability are only means to an end. The end we do not know. For it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life. But I have long professed my conversion to the view pressed upon the public by Babu Bhagavandas that the public must know the end, not vaguely out precisely. They must know the full definition of Swaraj, i.e. the scheme of Swaraj which all India wants and must fight for. Happily the Committee appointed by the All Parties' Conference is charged with that mission and let us hope that the Committee will be able to produce a scheme that will be acceptable to all parties. I may suggest for its consideration the following points ?

1. The qualification for the franchise should be neither property nor position but manual work, such for example as suggested for the Congress Franchise. Literary or property test has proved to be elusive. Manual work gives an opportunity to all who wish, to take part in the government and well-being of the State.
2. The ruinous military expenditure should be curtailed to the proportion necessary for protection of life and property in normal times.
3. Administration of justice should be cheapened and with that end in view the final court of appeal should be not in London but in Delhi. Parties to civil suits must be compelled in the majority of cases to refer their disputes to arbitration, the decisions of these Panchayats to be final except in cases of corruption or obvious misapplication of law. Multiplicity of intermediate courts should be avoided. Case law should be abolished and the general procedure should be simplified. We have slavishly followed the cumbrous and worn out English procedure. The tendency in the Colonies is to simplify the procedure so as to make it easy for litigants to plead their own cases.

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4. Revenues from intoxicating liquors and drugs should be abolished.
  5. Salaries of the Civil and Military Service should be brought down to a level compatible with the general condition of the country.
  6. There should be re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic basis with as complete autonomy as possible for province for its internal administration and growth.
  7. Appointment of a commission to examine all the monopolies given to foreigners and, subject to the findings of the commission, full guarantees to be given for all vested rights justly acquired.
  8. Full guarantee of their status to the Indian Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government subject to the rights of asylum to subjects of these States who, not being offenders against the Penal Code, may seek it in Self-governing India.
  9. Repeal of all arbitrary powers.
  10. The highest post to be open to all who may be otherwise fit. Examinations for the Civil and Military Services to be in India.
  11. Recognition of complete religious freedom to various denominations subject to mutual forbearance.
  12. The official language for provincial governments, legislatures and courts, within a definite period, to be the vernacular of the province of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal, to be Hindustani; the script to be either Devanagari or Persian. The language of the Central Government and of the Central Legislature to be also Hindustani. The language of international diplomacy to be English.

I trust you will not laugh at what may appear to you to be extravagance of thought in the foregoing sketch of some of the requirements of Swaraj as I would have it. We may not have the power today to take or receive or do the things I have mentioned. Have we the will? Let us at least cultivate the desire. Before I leave this highly attractive, because speculative theme let me assure the Committee in charge of the drafting of a Swaraj scheme, that I claim for my suggestion no more attention than it would give to any single individual's. I have incorporated them in my address only to gain greater currency for them than they would perhaps otherwise receive.

#### **INDEPENDENCE**

The above sketch presuppose the retention of the British connection on perfectly honourable and absolutely equal terms. But I know that there is a section among Congressmen who want under every conceivable circumstance complete independence of Britain. They will not have even an equal partnership. In my opinion if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would therefore strive for Swaraj within the Empire but would not hesitate to severally connection, if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault. I would thus throw the burden of separation on the British people. The better mind of the world

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desires today not absolutely independent States warring one against another but a federation of friendly inter-dependent States, the consummation of that event may be far off. I want to make no grand claim for our country. But I see nothing grand or impossible about our expressing our readiness for universal inter-dependence rather than independence, it should rest with Britain to say that she will have no real alliance with India. I desire the ability to be totally independent without asserting the independence. Any scheme that I would frame, while Britain declares her goal about India to be complete equality within the Empire, would be that of alliance and not of independence without alliance. I would urge every Congressman not to be insistent on independence in each and every case, not because there is anything impossible about it, but because it is wholly unnecessary till it has become perfectly manifest that Britain really means subjugation in spite of her declaration to the contrary.

#### **THE SWARAJ PARTY**

So far, then, I have considered the contents of the agreement and the general questions arising from it. Not much need be said about the status of equality given to the Swaraj Party. I wish I would have avoided it, not because the Party is not worthy, but because I do not share its views about Council-entry. But if I must remain in the Congress and even lead it, I must recognise facts as they are. It was easy enough for me to go out of the Congress or to decline the honour of presiding. But it was not, so I thought and still think, in the interest of the country for me to take that step. The Swaraj Party represents if not a majority, at least a strong and growing minority in the Congress. If I was not to divide the Congress on the issue of its status, I was bound to agree to its conditions so long as they were not in conflict with my conscience. They are not in my opinion, unreasonable. The Swarajists want to use the name of the Congress for their policy. A formula had to be found for their doing so without their pledging or binding the no-changers to their policy. One of the ways of doing it was to give it the authority and the responsibility both financial and executive with regard to the framing and the prosecution of their policy. The Congress as a whole could not guide that policy without sharing the responsibility. And as I could not take the responsibility, and as I apprehend No-changer can, I could not be party to shaping the policy, nor could I shape it without my heart in it. And heart can only go where belief is. I know that the sole authority to the Swaraj Party to use the name of the Congress in regard to the Council programme makes somewhat awkward the position of the other parties wishing to join the Congress. But I fear it is inevitable. The Swaraj Party cannot be expected to surrender the advantage it possesses. After all it wants the advantage not for itself but for the service of the country. And all parties have or can have that ambition or no other. I hope therefore that the others will join the Congress and work from within to affect the course of the country's politics. Dr. Besant has led the way in that direction. I know that she would have many things done otherwise, but she is content to come in hoping to bring round the electorate to her view by working within the Congress. The No-changers can, in my humble



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opinion, vote for the agreement with a clear conscience. The only national programme jointly to be worked by all the parties is khaddar, Hindu-Muslim unity and, for the Hindus removal of untouchability. Is not this after all what they want ?.

#### **PURELY SOCIAL REFORM**

It has been suggested that this programme turns the Congress into a purely social reform organisation. I beg to differ from that view. Everything that is absolutely essential for Swaraj is more than merely social work and must be taken up by the Congress. It is not suggested that the Congress should confine its activity for all times to this work only. But it is suggested that the Congress should for the coming year concentrate the whole of its energy on the work of construction, or as I have otherwise described it, the work of internal growth.

Nor does the agreement exhaust the list of constructive items that the Congress must handle. Those I am about to mention are of the highest importance, but they, being non-contentious and not absolutely essential for Swaraj as the foregoing three items, find no mention in the agreement.

#### **NATIONAL SCHOOLS**

One such is the maintenance of national education institutions. Probably the public do not know that next to khaddar the running of national educational institutions has been the most successful. These cannot be given up so doing as even a few pupils are left. It must be a point of honour with the respective provinces to keep up their colleges and schools. Suspension of non-co-operation should not have any injurious effect on these institutions. On the contrary, greater effort than ever before should be made to maintain and strengthen them. Most provinces have their national schools and Colleges. Gujarat alone has a national university maintained at an annual cost of Rs. 1,00,000, and having control of 3 Colleges and 70 Schools with 9,000 pupils. It has acquired its own ground at Ahmedabad and has already spent Rs. 2,05,323, in buildings. Throughout the country, finest and silent work has been done by the non-co-operating students. Theirs is a great and noble sacrifice. From a worldly stand-point they have perhaps lost the prospect of brilliant careers. I suggest to them however that from the national stand-point they have gained more than they have lost. They left their schools or colleges, because it was through them that the youth of the nation were insulted and humiliated in the Punjab. The first link in the chain of our bondage is forged in these institutions. The corresponding national institutions however inefficiently managed they may be, are the factories where the first instruments of our freedom are forged. After all, the hope of the future centres round the boys and girls studying in these national institutions. I therefore regard the upkeep, of these institutions as a first charge on provincial funds. But these institutions to be truly national must be clubs for promoting real Hindu-Muslim unity, there must be also nurseries for training Hindu boys and girls to regard untouchability as a blot upon Hinduism and a crime against humanity. There should be training

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schools for expert spinners and weavers. If the Congress retains its belief in the potency of the spinning wheel and khaddar, one has a right to expect these institutions to supply the science of the spinning wheel. There should be also factories for khaddar production. This is not to say that the boys and the girls are not to have any literary training. But I do maintain that the training of the hand and the heart must go hand-in-hand with that of the head. The quality and the usefulness of a national school or college will be measured not by the brilliance of the literary attainments of its scholars but by the strength of the national character, and deftness in handling the carding bow, the spinning wheel and the loom. Whilst I am most anxious that no national school or college should be closed, I should have not the slightest hesitation in closing down a school or college, that is indifferent to the admission of non-Hindu boys or that shuts its door against the entry of untouchables or that has not carding and spinning as an indispensable part of the training. Time is past when we can be satisfied with the word 'national' on the sign-board of the school and the knowledge that it is not affiliated to any Government university or is not otherwise controlled by the Government. I must also not omit to point out that the tendency in many national institutions still is to neglect the vernaculars and Hindustani. Many teachers have not realised the necessity of imparting instruction through the vernaculars or Hindustani. I rejoice to observe that Sjt. Gangadhar Rao has arranged a meeting of national educationists to exchange experiences on the several points mentioned by me and to evolve, if possible a general plan of education and action.

#### **UNEMPLOYED NON-CO-OPERATIONS**

This is perhaps the proper place to mention those lawyers who have given up practice, and school masters and other government employees who have given up Government service at the call of the nation. I know that there are many such men who find it hard to make the two ends meet. They deserve national support. The Khadi Board and the national schools and colleges are the two services that can take in almost an unlimited number of honest and industrious men who are willing to learn and labour and are satisfied with a modest allowance. I observe a tendency not to accept any remuneration for national service. The desire to serve without remuneration is praiseworthy but all cannot satisfy it. Every labourer is worthy of his hire. No country can produce thousands of unpaid wholtime workers. We must therefore develop an atmosphere in which a patriot would consider it an honour to serve the country and accept an allowance for such service.

#### **INTOXICANTS**

Another item of national importance is the liquor and the opium traffic. Had the wave of enthusiasm that swept across the country in 1921 in the cause of temperance remained non-violent, we would today have witnessed a progressive improvement. But unfortunately our picketing degenerated into violence, veiled when it was not open. Picketing had, therefore, to be abandoned and the liquor-shops and opium-dens began to flourish as before. But you will be pleased to here that the temperance work has not died out



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altogether. Many workers are still continuing their quite and selfless service in the cause of temperance. We must, however, realise that we would not be able to eradicate the evil till we have Swaraj. It is no matter or pride to us that our children are being educated out of the revenue derived from this immoral source. I would almost forgive the Council entry by Congressmen if they would boldly sweep out this revenue even though education may have to be starved. Nothing of the kind should happen if they will insist on a corresponding reduction in the military expenditure.

### **BENGAL REPRESSION**

You will observe that in the foregoing paragraphs I have confined myself to the internal developments.

But the external circumstances, and among them chiefly the acts of our rulers, are affecting our destiny no less surely (though it may adversely) than the internal development. We may turn them to advantage if we will or we may succumb to them to our disadvantage. The latest act of the rulers is the repression commenced in Bengal. The all Parties' Conference condemned it in no uncertain terms. The Conference had hesitation in saying that the blow was aimed at the Bengal Swaraj Party. But I have none. I have been to Calcutta and had the opportunity of meeting men representing a variety of opinion and I came to the conclusion that the blow was aimed at the Swaraj Party. The opinion is confirmed by the speeches since delivered by Lords Lytton and Reading. The defence they have offered is wholly unconvincing. Such a defence is possible only in a place like India where public opinion counts for little or nothing. Lord Lytton's conditions of release are an insult to our intelligence. Their Excellencies beg that question when they tell us that the situation warranted the Ordinance and the action under the Regulation of 1918. The national contention is—

1. That the situation they describe has not been proved to exist;
2. That assuming that the situation does exist, the remedy is worse than the disease ;
3. That the ordinary law contains enough powers for dealing with the situation ; and lastly ;
4. That even if extraordinary powers were necessary they should have been taken from the legislature which is of their own creation.

The speeches of their Excellencies evade these issues altogether. The nation which has had considerable experience of unsupported statements of the Government will not accept them as gospel truth. Their Excellencies know that we cannot and will not believe their statements not because they are wilfully untruthful, but because the sources of, their information have often been discovered to be tainted. Their assurances are therefore a mockery of the people. The speeches are almost a challenge to us to do our worst. But we must not be irritated or be impatient. Repression, if it does not cow us down, it does not deter us from our purpose, can but hasten the advent of Swaraj; for it puts us on our mettle and evokes the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage in the face of danger. Repression does

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for a true man or or a nation what fire does for gold. In 1921 we answered repression with Civil Disobedience and invited the Government to do its worst. But to day we are obliged to eat the humble pie. We are not ready for Civil Disobedience. We can but prepare for it. Preparation for civil disobedience means discipline, self-restraint, a non-violent but resisting spirit, conesion and above all scrupulous and willing obedience to the known laws of God and such laws of man as are in furtnerance of God's laws. But unfortunately we have neither discipline nor self-restraint enough for our purpose, we are either violent or our non-violence is unresisting, we have not enough cohesion and the laws that we obey, whether of God or man, we obey compulsorily. As between Hindus and Musalmans we witness a daily denant breach of laws both of God and man. This is no atmosphere for Civil Disobedience—the one matchless and invincible weapon at the disposal of the oppressed. The alternative is undoubtedly violence. We seem to have the atmosphere for it. Hindu-Muslim fights are our training for it. And those who believe that India's deliverance lies through violence are entitled to gloat over the free fights that take place between us. But I say to those who believe in the cult of violence : "You are retarding India's progress. If you have any pity or friendly feeling for the starving millions., know that your violence will do them no service. Those whom you seek to depose are better armed and infinitely better organised than you are. You may not care for your own lives, but you dare not disregard those of your countrymen who have no desire to die a martyr's death. You know that this Government believes in Jallianwala Bagh massacres as a legitimate means of self-defence. Whatever may be true of other countries, there is no chance of the cult of violence flourishing in this country India is admittedly the best repository and exponent of non-violence. Will you not better devote your lives if you sacrifice them in the cause of non-violence ? ".

I know, however, that my appeal to the violent revolutionaries will be just as fruitless as may such appeal to the violent and anarchical Government is likely to be.

We must therefore find the remedy and demonstrate to both the violent Government and the violent revolutionaries that there is a force that is more effective than their violence.

#### **REPRESSION A SYSTEM**

I regard this repression as a chronic symptom of a chronic disease. The European dominance and Asiatic subjection is the formula. Sometimes it is stated still more cryptically as White vs. Black. Kipling miscalled the white man's yoke as the ' white man's burden'. In the Malaya peninsula the colour bar that was thought to be temporary has now almost become a permanent institution. The Mauritius planter must get Indan labour without let or Hindrance. The Kenya Europeans successfully lord it over Indians who have a prior right to be there. The Union of South Africa would today drive out every Indian if it safely could, in total disregard of past obligations. In all these cases the Government of India and the Imperial Government are not

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helpless ; they are unwilling or not so insistent as they ought to be on the protection of Indian settlers. The Government of India have not shown even the decency to publish the report of its own Commission on Fiji.

The attempt to crush the indomitable spirit of the Akalis is a symptom of the same disease. They have poured their blood like water for the sake of a cause they hold as dear as life itself. They may have erred. If they have, it is they who have bled in the process. They have hurt no one else. Nankana Saheb, Buruka-Bagh and Jaito will bear witness to their courage and their mute sufferings and martyrdom. But the Governor of the Punjab is reported to have vowed that he will crush the Akalis.

One hears that repression is crushing the Burmese spirit.

Egypt fares no better than we do ; A mad Egyptian kills a British officer ; certainly a detestable crime. The punishment is not only a detestable crime, but it is an outrage upon humanity. Egypt has nearly lost all it got. A whole nation has been mercilessly punished for the crime of one man. It may be that the murder had the sympathy of the Egyptians. Would that justify terrorism by a power well able to protect its interests without it ?

The repression in Bengal is therefore not an extraordinary thing. We must treat its periodic eruption in some shape or other or in some province or other, as our normal condition till we come to our own.

#### ***Need for Sanction.***

The Congress, therefore, to be worthy of its trust must devise a sanction to back its demands. Before we can forge the sanction, we Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, etc. must unite and so should Swarajists, No-Changers. Liberals, Home-Rulers, Muslim Leaguers and others. If we can but speak with a united voice and know our own mind it would be well. If we can develop the powers to keep foreign cloth from our land, it would be better. We are ready then for the sanction.

#### ***My faith.***

Let me state my faith; as a Congressman wishing to keep the Congress intact, I advise suspension of non-co-operation for I see that the nation is not ready for it. But as an individual, I cannot—will not—do so as long as the Government remains what it is. It is not merely a policy with me, it is an article of faith. Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called Satyagraha. It is my Kalpadrum—my Jam-I-Jam—the Universal Provider. Satyagraha is search for Truth; and God is Truth. Ahimsa or Non-violence is the light that reveals that Truth to me. Swaraj for me is part of the Truth. This Satyagraha did not fail me in South Africa, Kheda, or Champaran and in a host of other cases I could mention. It excludes all violence or hate. Therefore, I cannot and will not hate Englishmen. Nor will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British methods and British institutions on India. But I combat the attempt with non-violence. I believe in the

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capacity of India to offer non-violent battle to the English rulers. The experiment has not failed. It has succeeded, but not to the extent we had hoped and desired. I do not despair. On the contrary I believe that India will come to her own in the near future, and that only through Satyagraha. The proposed suspension is part of the experiment. Non-co-operation need never be resumed if the programme sketched by me can be fulfilled. Non-violent non-co-operation in some form or other, whether through the Congress or without it, will be resumed if the programme fails. I have repeatedly stated that Satyagraha never fails and that one perfect Satyagrahi is enough to vindicate Truth. Let us all strive to be perfect Satyagrahis. The striving does not require any quality unattainable by the lowliest among us. For satyagraha is an attribute of the spirit within. It is latent in everyone of us. Like Swaraj it is our birthright. Let us know it.

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**APPENDIX-E**

[The interview between Gandhiji and Sir Henry Lawrence, the then Acting Governor of Bombay, took place on the 18th and 19th May 1926. As Gandhiji did not give any press interview, the public did not know what took place in this interview. As this office was able to secure this letter throwing light on this interview, and as no information is available so far, the letter is published below.]

(Source : Photostat of privately printed Volume of  
Lord Halifax Papers).

A letter from H. E. Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Acting Governor of Bombay (1926), to Viceroy Lord Irwin (Halifax), regarding Gandhi's views on Royal Agriculture Commission.

Government House, Mahableshwar,  
May 20th, 1926.

Dear Lord Irwin,

I think you will be interested to hear that I saw Mr. Gandhi on the 18th and 19th instant, and had three hours' conversation with him. He did not attempt to raise any political or controversial issues, and informed me that he did not intend to make any kind of statement to the Press. The Associated Press had asked him for a statement which he had declined to give.

2. His chief anxiety is the acceptance of his universal remedy for the evils of life in India—the home-spinning and home-weaving of *khadar*. He put forward three suggestions for the attention of the Royal Commission; and with some inconsequence, he put first the sub-division of holdings. He admitted that the remedy the impartibility of inherited estates, would be contrary to the joint family system of Hindu law, and would never be accepted by Hindus. When asked if he would support and preach this reform, he stated that he had not investigated the subject, and had never taken any steps in the matter.

3. Second, he placed the unemployment of the ryot for four months in the year. For this his sole remedy is spinning and weaving. He said that if the Royal Commission recommended such subsidiary employments as the keening of live-stock, goats and sheep, or poultry, the Commission would show their total ignorance of the conditions of India.

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4. Third, he placed cattle-breeding, with a view to the improvement of the milk supply; and strange to say, with the addition of the tanning of hides,—an addition which will, of course, arouse the bitter opposition of all orthodox Hindus. He is the President of a Cow Protection Society; and while desirous of the reform of the management of the refuges for worn out cattle, known as Pinjrapols, he is strenuously opposed to the slaughter of cattle. He claims to have an organisation at work, travelling in various districts, and promulgating scientific ideas about the care of cattle and the improvement of breeding.

5. At the Agricultural Exhibition which will be held in Poona at the end of October, he proposes to establish a Court to show the methods and results of his *khadar* spinning and weaving. He has been discussing with our Director of Agriculture, Dr. Mann, co-operation in the improvement of the milk-supply, particularly of Ahmedabad City, as an experiment and demonstration.

6. Mr. Gandhi appeared to be in very good health, talked most amiably and jocosely on many subjects, and expressed himself as ready to co-operate in any measures that would promote the welfare of the country. While he could not bring himself to give evidence before the Commission, he would be prepared to supply any information that was at his disposal.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) H. S. Lawrence.

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February 20	Mr. Gandhi to be informed not to discuss the regulations of the prison.	64
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February 28	Letter to Superintendent request for a ' Straight and undiplomatic' reply in connection with the interviews.	68, 69
March!	I. G. P. informs Secretary that Gandhi's letter is not courteous towards Government.	70



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March 31	I. G. P. directed by the Secretary to inform the prisoner that a discretion is reserved to refuse permission to any particular person in public interest; also requested to submit the list of desired persons.	75
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May 19	} Health report of Mr. Gandhi	170
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September 7	Garlands and flowers from the ladies to be accepted but no interview should be granted.	192
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January 28	Governor in Council asks for Col. Maddock's recommendation for future treatment.	235
January 28	Telegram from Bombay Government to India Government suggesting Gandhi's removal to a health resort.	236
January 30	Gandhi suggested that he might be allowed to proceed to Tithal or Dumas.	237
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March 29	Decided to resume editorship of 'Young India' and 'Navjivan'.	297
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April 14	Article in 'Young India' by Gandhi on the treatment of Mr. Majli in Jail.	195-196
April 18	Letter to I. G. P. by Gandhi re. treatment of prisoner Kalyanji Mehta.	197
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August 29	Arrived at Bombay — Corporation presented an address.	312
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September 4	At Poona — unveiled the bust of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar — visited Servant of India Society and Seva Sadan — attended Convocation ceremony of Tilak Mahavidyalaya.	313
	Attended a large meeting in the evening in Reay Market — S. M. Paranjpe preside.	314
September 5	Arrived at Surat-addressed a public meeting—expressed disappointment at divisions in Congress and factions among Swarajists, Hindu Muslim discussions and riots and lack of enthusiasm on untouchability question.	316
September 11	A change in Policy annouced by Gandhi in an article in " Young India '.—	319-320
September 13	Under went an X ray treatment	321
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October 8	Meeting at Sangamner, Kopargaon, Mandvi, Satara, Belgaum.	333
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	<b>1925</b>	
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January 2	At Dohad attended a public meeting under the auspices of Bhil Sewa Mandal.	350
January 3	Addressed a meeting at Godhra.	350
January 14	At Ahmedabad—attended the provincial Congress Committee meeting—presided the Convocation of Gujarat Vidyapith.	350
January 16	Arrived at Anand. Proceeded to Bardoli.	351
January 17	Addressed large meetings at Bardoli and Sarbhon and at Kaliparaj on 18th.	351
January 19	Addressed a meeting at Surat.	351
February 12	An open letter to Gandhi by a revolutionary is published in ' Young India '.	352
February 12	Attended a public meeting at Virsad in Borsad Taluka. On tour in Kaira District—Addressed meetings	354
February 12, 13	On tour in Kaira District—Addressed a meetings at Virsad, Palji, Sunav, Napha and Nadiad.	355
March 4	Arrived at Ahmedabad from Delhi and left for Bombay.	356
March 26	Arrived at Bombay from Madras—Addressed a meeting of the Depressed Classes.	356
April 1	Left for Botad (Kathiawar).	357
April 9	More correspondence between Gandhi and his revolutionary friend.	357
April 11	Arrived at Bombay from Kathiawar tour.	359
April 13	At Bombay public meeting at the Congress House— Gandhi and others made speeches; emphasised on the programme of Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and Khaddar.	360
April 15	Toured Jalapur and Bardoli Taluka of Surat District.	361
April 16	The same discussion at all the places	361
April 17-18	Tour of Broach District—spoke on usual lines of Khaddar, Hindu-Muslim Unity and	360
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August 25	Italian tourists see Mr. Gandhi.	369
August 30	Attended a festival at Calcutta.	371

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September 5	Arrived at Ahmedabad	369
September 6	At Ahmedabad attended labourers' meeting.	370
September 6	Ahmedabad Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad met	371
September 10	Arrived at Bombay from Ahmedabad left for tour in Bihar and Orissa.	371
October 20	Passed through the Bhusawal, Jalgaon, Pachora and Chalisgaon districts by Punjab Mail.	371
October 20	Left for Cutch by S. S. Rupavati	371
November 5	Arrived at Ahmedabad from Cutch	372
November 14	At Ahmedabad Spinners Conference held by Gandhi.	372
November 22	At Ahmedabad " Youth Week " exhibition opened by Gandhi.	372
December 2	At Ahmedabad saw Sarojini Naidu and Motilal Nehru at Ambalal's place.	372
December 5	At Usmanpur performed the convocation ceremony of National University.	372
December 6	Left for Dholka accompanied by Vallabhbhai Patel.	372
December 8	Arrived at Bombay from Dholka presided over annual Prize Distribution of National High School Bhangwadi.	373
December 9	Left for Wardha	373
December 23	At Cawnpore Congress—Yarn franchise was passed resolution re: compulsory Khaddar wearing was thrown out.	374
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February 13	At Ahmedabad. Members of the South African Delegation saw Gandhi at the Ashram.	376
March 8	Madan Mohan Malaviya came to see Gandhi at Ahmedabad.	376
March 19, 20, 21	At Ahmedabad Jalsa held under the Presidentship of Gandhi.	376
March 20	Gandhi will go to Mussooree in April; rumour about the likelihood of Gandhi going to China.	376
March 27	Postponed going to Mussooree.	376
April 17	Cancelled the visit to Mussooree.	377
April 20, 21	A Conference convened at Sabarmati to settle the difference between Swarajists and Responsivists an agreement was signed by the leaders of both the parties.	378
May 4	A. I. C. C. met at Ahmedabad. Sabarmati pact to be ractified Responsivists did not participate Gandhi was present. But did not take part in proceedings.	378
May 16	Mahratta on Gandhi's visit to Mahabaleshwar to see the Governor.	385
May 18	Attended a ' Tennis Tea ' given by the missionaries of Mahabaleshwar.	385
May 20	Came to Poona from Mahabaleshwar.	385
May 29	Rumours re: Gandhi going to Finland.	386
June 9	Gandhi not going to Finland is finally decided.	386
June 14	At Ahmedabad gave Speech as the Chancellor of Gujarat Vidyapith.	387

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November 21	at Ahmedabad.	387
December 3	Left Ahmedabad for Wardha.	387
<b>1927</b>		
February 12	Arrived at Sindkheda—went to Shahad and from there to Dondaicha addresses were presented to him and fund was collected.	389
February 15	Visited Nasik District collected fund and advised people to wear khaddar.	389
February 16	Left Nasik for Sangamner-visited Kopargaon, Belapur, Ahmednagar, Miraj, and Sholapur— visited several institutions and accepted addresses and funds.	390
February 19	Arrived at Sholapur visited Karnala, Barsi and Gulbarga.	391
February 26	Arrived at Belgaum.	390
February 27	10 meetings held in various parts of Ratnagiri District. Paid a visit to Savarkar on March 3.	391
March 2	Addressed eight meetings at various places in Kolaba district.	391
March 4	Arrived at Poona—addressed several meetings and was presented with a purse made speeches on wearing Khaddar.	390
March 11	At Ahmedabad a private meeting of all-India Cow Protection Committee at Ashram.	392
March 15	Addressed two meetings at Mandvi in Surat District	392
March 19	At Bardoli—delivered a lecture on evils of drink and urged the use of Khaddar. Declared open a Swaraj Ashram.	392
March 23	Arrived at Bombay—visited Jiv Daya Mandali at Ghatkopar.	393
March 25	Arrived at Kolhapur—addressed four meetings ..	392
March 30	Visited Nipani presented with an address silver casket and a purse, advocated unity among all the Communities.	393
April 18	Arrived at Thalakwadi Belgaum—presented with an address and a purse—Shahpur people came to Belgaum to give money.	394
May 15	At Bombay A. I. C. C. met at Congress House.	394
June 9	Arrived at Bangalore—intends to invite leaders of South India to visit him.	397
October 29	Arrived at Bombay from Mangalore and left for Delhi the next day.	397
November 6	Arrived in Bombay and left for Colombo on 7th In the 1st week of December he was in Orissa.	397
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January 14	Conference of the International Fellowship	
January 15	Council held at the Sabarmati Ashram.	



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March 25	A private meeting of mill-owners took place at the Sabarmati Ashram.	399
March 27	Addressed a public meeting of the Bhangis in Maganbhai Wadi, Ahmedabad.	400
March 31	Attended the annual gathering of the primary school maintained by Labour Union.	400
April 7	At Ahmedabad.	400
May 31	At Karachi—supported (through Young India) Jairamdas Daulatram to observe 12th June as Bardoli Satyagraha day.	401
June	Requested Sardar Singh " Kavishwar " to collect fund and enlist Volunteers from Punjab to help Bardoli Satyagrahis.	401-402
June 20	At Ahmedbad, saw Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Lalji Naranji in connection with Passive Resistance Movement.	402
July 5	Interview at Ahmedabad, with Sardar Ahmedalikhani, Governor of Kabul.	402
July 9	At Ahmedabad met members of the Joint Strike Committee request to obtain funds for the Bombay mill strike.	402
August 11	A meeting at Valod to thank H. E. the Governor for ending Bardoli dispute.	405
August 12	Meetings at Bardoli and Surat—Referred to Khadar.	405
August 12	Arrived at Surat from Bardoli—attended meeting in the riverbed—thanked H. E. the Governor.	405-406
August 16	Addressed a meeting in Bhagubhai's Vada, at Ahmedabad held in honour of Vallabhabhai	404
August 20	Spoke, in a meeting to celebrate Brahma Samaj Day at Ahmedabad.	405
September 10	Addressed a meeting held in the Gujarat Vidya-peeth compound, to celebrate anniversary of Tolstoy.	406
September	A letter from Pandit Motilal Nehru with request to give sound advice to Jawaharlal on his extreme views of Indian Independence—Report dated 29th September 1928.	407
October 1	Presided a public meeting held at Ahmedabad to celebrate 82nd birthday and anniversary of Mrs. Annie Besant.	407
October	An open letter from Nemchand G. Shah of Young Men's Jain Society on his views on killing sick calves etc.—Report dated 20th October 1928.	407-408
November 18	Presided a condolence meeting held in the Sabarmati River-bed.	408-409
November 20	At Ahmedabad met Vithalbai and Vallabhabhai J. Patel to discuss the programme for a commemoration day of Lala Lajpatrai.	408
November 24	Passed through Jalgaon en-route to Wardha.	409

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	<b>1928—concl'd.</b>	
November 29	At Wardha addressed a big meeting to observe " Lala Lajpatrai day " .	410
November	Arrived at Wardha Ashram for having rest for a month-report dated 1st December 1928.	409
December 21	Charkha spinning exhibition was arranged.	411
December 21	Reached Sambalpur and went to Chandra Shekhar Bhera.	411
December 22	Delivered a speech to a vast gathering at Sambhalpur, advocating use of Charkha and Khaddar.	411
December 22	Left Sambalpur for Calcutta.	411
	<b>1929</b>	
January	A telegram to Jairamdas Daulatram enquiring whether he should come to Sind on 20th January—Report dated 12th January 1929.	410
January 5	Passed through Ajmer on his way from Delhi to Ahmedabad.	411
January 10	Attended meeting in the Bharat Bhuvan Theatre at Ahmedabad.	412
January 11	Attended annual convocation of the National University at Ahmedabad, as Chancellor.	412
January	To arrive in Karachi on 1st February 1929 for Sind tour and leave for Ahmedabad on 12th February—Report dated 12th January 1929.	411
February 3	Passed through Hyderabad Station en-route for Karachi—refused to use the second class carriage reserved for him.	414
February 3	Arrived at Karachi.	412
February 4	Meeting at Rambag Recreation ground in Karachi for Lala Lajpatrai Fund.	413
February 5	Address by Karachi Sikh League—No rule by Single community.	413
February 5	At Karachi—An address by the Sweepers in the town—were advised not to drink or eat the flesh of dead animals.	413
February 5	At Karachi—meeting with the Congress Workers	414
February 6	Met Parsis in Karachi.	414
February 6	Left Karachi for Jacobabad in the evening.	414
February 7	Visited Jacobabad.	414
February 8	Visited Shikarpur—was warned not to make much of untouchables because of sanatanists.	414
February 9	Visited Larkana.	414
February 11	Meeting at Rohri.	415
February 13 to 15	Visit to Hyderabad—had an address from the Municipality.	415
February 13	Private meeting at Hyderabad of the Khaddar Prachar.	415
February 14	Visited Congress building at 8-30 a.m. and proceeded to Holmsted Hall.	415
February 14	Addressed Hindu Women at Holmsted Hall at 4 p.m.—condemned <i>deti-leti</i> . Addressed sweepers at Brahma Temple at 6 p.m. mass meeting at Fuleli at 7-30 p.m. A private meeting of Congress Workers at 8-30 p.m. at the house of Jairamdas.	415-416
February 16	Left Mirpurkhas for-Delhi.	415
February 28	At Ahmedabad performed the unveiling ceremony of the Tilak Statue in the Victoria Gardens	417
February 28	Hoisted the " National Flag " in the Municipal Office in the presence of Municipal members.	417
February 28	Presided over a meeting in the river-bed at Ahmedabad when Hon. Mr. Shastri was present.	417

<i>Date</i>		<i>Page</i>
	<b>1929—contd.</b>	
March	Visited Sukkur, Rohri, Bhiria, Tharushah, Naushahro, Padiadan, Hyderabad, Ootri and Mirpurkhas—Report dated March 16th.	415
March 1	Left Ahmadabad for Calcutta.	417
March 3	Arrived at Calcutta from Delhi.	420
March	Arrest at Calcutta from burning foreign cloth—Report dated 9th March 1929.	418
March 5	Left for Rangoon.	420
March 8	Arrived at Rangoon from Calcutta by S. S. Aronda	420
March 8	Welcome address by Rangoon Corporation—Congratulated the Corporation for the progress made.	420
March 8	A meeting at 7 p.m. at the Bagaya Kyaungdaik (Rangoon)—'advised to boycott all cloth of foreign manufacture.	421
March 9	Visited Hindu Social Club, Gujarati National School and the Zinuatal Islam Girls School, collected substantial purse.	421
March 9	Mass meeting by the Gandhi Reception Committee at Fytche Square.	421-422
	Visited Reddiar High School in the evening and Jewellery was collected.	422
March 10	Visited Ariff Hall, Chettiar School, Sooniram Hall and the Sikh Temple, appealed for funds.	422
March 10	At 4 p. m. reception by the students at the Jubilee Hall.	422
	At 7 p.m. a public meeting at Swadagaon Pagoda.	422
March 11	Observed as a day of silence.	423
March 11	Left for Moulmin at 8-30 p. m.	423
March 12	Meeting at the Sam Buddha Ghosa School—Advised peasants to stick to their Village life.	423
March 12	Visited a Gujarati School at 6 p. m.	423
March 13	A mass meeting at 8 a. m. at Moulmein.—Advised Indians not to forget their " Dharama ".	423
March 13	Left Moulmein for Rangoon.	424
March 14	Arrived Rangoon in the morning.	424
	Granted interviews to certain learders. Visited Ram Krishna Mission Society and attended meetings.	424
March 14	Left for Paungde.	
March 15	Reached Paungde, was presented with the address of welcome by Municipality—advised Indians to sympathise with Burmese aspiration.	424
March 15	Left for Prome. At Shwedaung en-route inspected handlooms.	424
	Reached Prome at 3 p. m. and attended meeting	424
March 15	Left Prome for Rangoon.	424
March 16	Arrived at Rangoon to catch a train at Mandalay	425
March 16	Arrived at Pegu—advised Indians to live in Arrived at Pyuntaza—advised people to use Khaddar.	425
March 17	Arrived at Myitnge—collected a purse.	425
March 17	Left Myitnge for Shanzu. At Shanzu Met some Gujaratis collected funds.	425
	Attended meeting at Bindawya Pagoda—advocated boycott of foreign cloth.	425
	At 4 p. m. welcome by Bangali community at the Young Men's Association—appealed for funds.	425
March 17	At 4-30 p. m. presented an address by the Mandalay Municipality—Requested Municipality to give free education to the children.	425
March 18	At Mandalay—Observed as a day of silence till 6 p.m. Then attended a meeting wherein explained the doctrine of Ahimsa.	426
March 18	Left Mandalay for Pyinmana.	426
March 19	Arrived at Pyinmana—Presented with an address by Pyinmana Municipality.	426



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	<b>1929—concl'd.</b>	
March 20	Left Pyinmana for Toungoo.	427
March 20		427
	come by Toungoo Municipality.	
March 20	Left for Rangoon—broke journey at Kyauktaga.	427
March 21	Left Rangoon for Calcutta by S. S. Aronda	427
March 28	Arrived at Ahmedabad from Delhi.	428
March 29	Left Ahmedabad for Morvi to attend a political Conference.	429
March 29	Stopped at Viramgaum while on the way from Ahmedabad.	430
April 5	Arrived in Bombay from Ahmedabad—Attended a public meeting held under the auspices of the B. P. C. C. —opened the Umar Sobani Library in the Congress House Compound—opened Khadi Bazar organised by the Bombay Youth League.	429
April 5	Left for Hyderabad Deccan <i>en-route</i> to Madras	430
April 6	Passed through Sholapur on his way to Hyderabad	430
April 7	Arrived at Bonakal from Secunderabad—visited Lingala and Jaggiapet.	430
April 8	Started tour in Andhara Desh.	441
April 11	Visited some of the villages round Bezwada and left for Vuyyur.	430
April 12	Addressed a meeting at Vuyyur.	430
April 13	Arrived at Gudivada.	430
April 13	Left Gudivada after visiting villages round about and arrived at Bandar. At Bandar presided over a meeting of Gosha Ladies.	430
April 14	Left Bandar on tour and made speeches on foreign cloth, Khaddar etc. in various villages <i>en route</i> .	431
April 17	Entered the Guntur District.	431
April 17	Arrived in Guntur from Bezwada.	431
April 17	Left Guntur and visited some of the villages round about, visited Karemchadu.	431
April 18	Visited Thimmasumudram, Vettapalem, Chilara, Bapatla.	431
April 19	Visited Kavur, Dehuli Pudi and Repalli. An open air meeting at Repath when a purse of Rs. 3,000 was presented.	431
April 20	Left for Thurimella and then to Tenali—unfurled the National flag at the National School. Then left for Guntur.	431
April 21	Left for Narasaraopet.	431
April 23	Passed through Bezwada by motor on his way to Ellore (Kistna District).	432
April 23	Arrived at Ellore after visiting some villages on his way from Bezwada. Attended a public meeting at Ellore (West Godavari).	432
	Tour extended to East Godavari and Chittoor— Report dated 25th May and 1st June 1929.	432-433
April 25	At Bombay Attended the A. I. O. C. meeting held at the Peoples' Jinnah Hall.	433
April 28	Arrived at Vizagapatam—addressed a meeting, was presented with an address by the	433
May 23, 24	At Bombay attended a meeting of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee at Laburnum Road,	437
May 25, 26	At Bombay attended Indian States Peoples' Conference held at the Royal Opera House.	437-438
June 11	Started on tour in Almorah.	440

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June 13	Arrived in Bareilly—was presented with an address of welcome by the Municipal office, Bareilly— Meeting at Nainital and Almora—collected funds.	441 442
June	Completed tour in the hills in U. P. and rested for a week—Report dated 29th June 1929.	442
July	Rest at Kausani for a week—collected money and advised young men to join Youth League—Report dated 6th July 1929.	442-443
July 4	Tour in the Kumaon division ended with a visit to Kashipur. From Kashipur went to Moradabad, and then-by train to Delhi.	443
July 5	Attended the A. I. C. C. meeting at Dr. Ansari's house at Delhi.	443
July 24	Left Ahmedabad for Allahabad with Devdas and Pyarelal Bindrabin.	444
July 26	Informal discussions at Allahabad	445
July 27	At Allahabad Attended A. I. C. C. meeting at Anand Bhawan,—made proposal for compromise.	446
July 30	Returned to Ahmedabad from Allahabad.	449
August 10	Left Ahmedabad for Bombay.	450
August 11	Arrived in Bombay	450
August 19	At Ahmedabad met Bipin Chandra Pal at the Ashram.	450
September 6	Left Ahmedabad for Bombay.	450
September 7	Visited Vile Parle and opened a " Khadi Bazar " at the National School—Also visited Tilak Mandir.	450
September 7	Arrived in Bombay and left for Bhopal.	451
September 7	Issued instructions to leaders for being careful in their Speeches—Report dated 21st September 1929.	451
September 8	Passed through Khandwa by train on his way from Bombay to Bhopal.	452
September 8	Arrived in Bhopal, addressed a public meeting and collected a purse.	451
September 10	Left Bhopal for Agra.	451
September 11	Arrived at Agra—Beginning of United Provinces tour.	452
September 25	Delivered the convocational address at the Kashi Vidyapith, Benares.	453
September 26	Spoke at a meeting in the Town Hall at Benares.	453
September 27	Attended the second session of the District Political Conference at Lucknow.	453
September 28	Addressed the students of the Lucknow University	453
October	Requested his followers to work quietly and steadily along the times of the Congress Programme. Report of D. S. P., Ahmedabad dated 11th October 1929.	452
October	Visited Lucknow, Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Basti, Gonda, Bhraich, Barabanki and Hardoi districts—Reoprt dated 19th October 1929.	454
October	Went to Akbarpur from Tanda, then motored to Fyzabad—attended a meeting of Ladies—Report dated 19th October 1929.	455
October 3	Attended a meeting held in Kshatriya Schools at Azamgarh.	455
October 3	Visited Ghughli, Captainganj and Padrauna.	456
October 4	Attended a meeting on the Parade ground at Gorakhpur.	456

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October 5	Went to Deoria—presented with an addresses by the Municipality and the District Board—Returned by ordinary train to Gorakhpur.	457
October 7	Meeting at St. Andrew's College at—Gorakhpur presented with an addresses by Youth League and Muslim Youth Association.	457
October 8	Arrived at Basti from Gorakhpur—Meeting at Hathiagarh Ground.	458
October 10	At Gonda.	459
October	Visited Moradabad, Bijnor, Saharanpur and Dehra Dun Districts—Report dated 26th October 1929.	459
October	Had rest for a week in Mussorie then resumed the tour of United Provinces in the districts of Dehra Dun, Sholaranpur, Muzaffarnagar and Meerut—Report dated 2nd November 1929.	460
October 26	At Muzaffarnagar.	460
October 27	At Meerut.	
October 28	Addressed the College students in Meerut	464
October 29	Motored to the Hapur Chamber of Commerce in Meerut.	464
November	Concluded tour of the Meerut District, then Visited Bulandshahar and reached Aligarh—Report dated 9th November 1929.	463
November 1	Arrived at Shahadara at 10 a.m. from Meerut by motor—spoke in the meeting convened by Shahadara Congress Committee.	467
November 2	Addressed number of meetings in Delhi—Biggest one was organised by the District Congress Committee in the Queen's Gardens.	467
November 2	Addressed the students of Jams Mallia and Gurukul at Tughlaqabad.	468
November 3	At Khair.	466
November 6	Spoke on cow—protection at Mattra.	466
November 7	At Brindaban. Unveiled a protrait of Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh.	466
November 7	Account of United Porvinces tour—extract from <i>Young India</i> Visited Saharanpur and then Meerut Jail:	462
November 17	Visited the University at Allahabad. Then attended a meeting held at the Municipal Board Office.	
	In the evening a meeting in Parsotam Das Park.	469-70
November	Tour extended to Budaun, Shahjahanpur, Pilibhit, Kheri, Sitapur, Rae Bareli, Partabgarh, Sultanpur and Allahabad,—Report dated 23rd Novemer 1929.	468
November	Tour continued from Allahabad. Visited Mirzapur, Fatehpur, Banda, Hamirpur, Jhansi and Jalaun—Report dated 30th November 1929.	471
November 22	Arrived at Jhansi; attended a public meeting.	471
November 23	Addressd a meeting at Auraila—Meetings at Kanchausi, Bhartana, Bakewar and Jaswantnagar.	472
November 24	Tour in the United Provinces ended at Etawah.	472
November 25	Returned to Ahmedabad from the United Provinces tour.	472
November	Requested B. C. Pal to address the students of Gujarat Vidyapith at Ahmedabad—Report dated 30th November 1929.	471
December 7	Passed through Bhusawal on his journey to Wardha.	472



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